

**ADDRESSING 'RACE'/ETHNICITY IN BRAZILIAN
SCHOOLS: A STUDY OF EFL TEACHERS**

APARECIDA DE JESUS FERREIRA

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ABSTRACT

Cultural plurality as a cross-curricular theme (CPCCT) is an issue that has been intensely discussed in recent times in Brazil, largely due to the implementation of new National Curriculum Parameters (PCN) in 1998. This study examines the ways in which English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teachers understand and address CPCCT, and more specifically 'race'/ethnicity in education. The background argument of my thesis is that unless teachers understand issues surrounding 'race'/ethnicity, CPCCT in schools will not be adequately addressed. As the 'myth of racial democracy' still holds much power in Brazil it is important to understand the context in which teachers work.

This research is largely qualitative. Methods used to gather data included (i) a questionnaire, (ii) interviews, (iii) a workshop in which teachers developed materials on the theme of 'race'/ethnicity and (iv) classroom observation of these materials in use. This thesis uses the framework of Critical Race Theory (CRT) to examine teachers' accounts and practices. The use of CRT as an analytical tool was important because it clearly demonstrated the way that injustice and inequality related to 'race' occur in Brazil.

My findings indicate that teachers' interpretations of CPCCT are very broad, and issues relating to 'race'/ethnicity are not often considered. The barriers that teachers face in their work environment contribute to them not addressing issues of 'race'/ethnicity in the classroom. Although, the experience of the workshop allowed teachers to reflect on the role of collaborative work, and most of them gained more confidence about teaching the issue of 'race'/ethnicity, it was clear from the observations that most teachers reproduced rather than challenged existing social relations when they used the materials. Dealing with issues of 'race'/ethnicity in schools requires more than legislation, the provision of curriculum materials and teachers' commitment. Issues of pedagogy are crucial. The research demonstrates that unless teachers' professional development in the area of CPCCT is put in place, issues around 'race'/ethnicity will continue to be inadequately addressed.

To Whom It May Concern:

I declare that this is my own work.


Aparecida de Jesus Ferreira

Dedication

To all voices who are oppressed and not heard,

and

to my mother (mãe).

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CPCCT	Cultural Plurality as a Cross-curricular Theme
CPD	Continuing Professional Development
CRT	Critical Race Theory
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
Ensino Fundamental	Elementary school. Term used by Brazilian education authorities to the first 8 years of mainstream education. The same as 1 ^o Grau.
Ensino Médio	Secondary school. Term used by Brazilian education authorities to describe years 9 to 11 of mainstream education. The same as 2 ^o Grau.
FL	Foreign Language
Green city	The place where the research took place.
IBGE	Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics
INSET	Inservice teacher education and training
ITE	Initial teacher education
Letras	Undergraduate course that prepares in-service teachers to teach Portuguese, EFL and its Literatures
Licenciatura	Undergraduate course that prepares in-service teachers to teach.
NRE	The same as Núcleo Regional de Educação – Local Education Authority (LEA).
PCN - Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais	The same as NC (national curriculum), a set of national documents (in the form of books) issued by the Ministry of Education in 1998 to serve as parameters for Brazilian education for all compulsory disciplines. One of the documents is about EFL education.

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE, CONTEXT, ARGUMENT AND ORGANISATION

In this introductory chapter, I first outline the purpose and the general argument of my thesis. Second, I introduce the context of my research, and finally, I provide an overview of the organization of this thesis, briefly outlining the content of each chapter and its argument.

Purpose of the thesis

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the way that EFL (English as a Foreign Language) teachers in Brazil, understand and address the issues of 'race'/ethnicity. In 1998, the first National Curriculum Parameters (PCN) started to be introduced in Brazil and cultural plurality as a cross-curricular theme (CPCCT) was one of the areas elected to be discussed in all subjects. The reason that CPCCT is such an important issue in Brazil is that it is a diverse society with a tradition of upholding the 'myth of racial democracy'¹. Although many people in Brazil *still* have a strong belief in the 'myth of racial democracy', research carried out in Brazil and abroad demonstrates findings that contradict the idea of Brazil as a *colour-blind* society (Barbosa et al., 2003; Cavalleiro, 2001; Costa, 1985; d'Adesky, 2001; Davis, 2000; Gomes, 2001, 2003a; Gonçalves e Silva, 1993, 2003, 2004; Guimarães, 2003a; Heringer, 2000; Munanga, 1996; Oliveira I., 2003; Pinto, 1996; Rosemberg et al., 2003; Telles, 2002; Winant, 1991). Throughout this research I employ the perspective of Critical Race Theory (CRT) in my analysis, because I view racism as endemic within society, working in multiple ways that often subvert civil rights attempts. The 'myth of racial democracy' is a perfect example of this.

¹ The 'myth of racial democracy' is that Brazil is a colour-blind society. I will explain the concept of the 'myth of racial democracy' in more detail in Chapter One.

The general argument of this thesis is that unless teachers have an adequate understanding of issues of 'race'/ethnicity, issues of CPCCT in schools will not be adequately addressed. As the PCN is still in the process of being implemented, there are several ongoing debates related to CPCCT. Nevertheless, this thesis focuses on an extremely significant sub-theme within CPCCT, namely 'race'/ethnicity.

The reasons for focusing my research on EFL teachers are: first, the EFL curriculum gives particular emphasis to CPCCT² (explained in more detail in Chapter Two). Second, EFL as a subject is compulsory in the curriculum, and I believe that EFL also has a responsibility to address issues of promoting equality in terms of 'race'/ethnicity (Auerbach, 1995; 2000; Block, 2003; Corson, 1997; Kanpol, 1994; Moita Lopes, 2002; Osler & Starkey, 2000; Pennycook, 2001; Tollefson, 1995). Finally, my focus on EFL stems from my own interest in contributing to English as foreign language teaching in my working context. I am a lecturer in initial teacher education (ITE) courses at a state university in the field of EFL, thus, it is important to me and my field of work to understand teachers' understandings³.

The context

This research took place in Green City, in the south of Brazil⁴. The city has a population of 245,066 and its inhabitants are mainly descendants of immigrants from Germany, Italy and Poland.

Green City has 40 state schools (including elementary and high schools), which employed 107 EFL teachers during the time that my data research was

² As regards foreign language and cultural plurality as a cross-curricular theme, I am not claiming that English as a foreign language should be the only subject responsible for teaching cultural plurality as a cross-curricular theme. On this specific issue I agree with Moreira (2001b: 72) who considers that little research has been carried out lately in specific subjects, and that more should be done in applying the principles of cultural plurality as a cross-curricular theme to all subjects. Moreira (2001b: 76-77) does not accept that cultural plurality as a cross-curricular theme should only be taught in some courses or subjects such as history, anthropology, sociology or social studies, but any other subjects can co-operate.

³ More research needs to be carried out in Brazil in all subjects and teacher education courses that include multicultural education (Moreira 2001b: 77).

⁴ Green city is a pseudonym for the city where this research took place.

collected in 2002. A total of 46 teachers answered my questionnaire. Some of them participated in the workshop on material development, and of these, six teachers were my main informants, providing me interviews (initial interview before the workshop and evaluation interview after the workshop), reflection sheets about their understanding of CPCCT and 'race'/ethnicity (during the workshop), and the material produced by them during the workshop. In Brazil, teachers normally work in shifts either in the morning, afternoon or evening. In my study, each classroom normally contained between 27 and 35 students.

Research questions

In this thesis, the study of EFL teachers was set up with a view to understand how teachers are addressing issues of CPCCT, and more specifically how they are addressing the issue of 'race'/ethnicity. I explore this through a number of inter-related questions:

How do EFL teachers understand and address issues of cultural plurality as a cross-curricular theme in education?

Where does this understanding come from (e.g. their own ethnicity, their educational experiences, professional development)?

How do their understandings change as a result of staff development?

What are the implications for the development of their professional practice and ultimately, for racial and ethnic equality in Brazilian schools?

Organisation of the thesis

In order to better understand CPCCT and 'race'/ethnicity in Brazil, it is crucial to outline the political and social context. In Chapter One, I start by outlining the enduring power of the 'myth of racial democracy' in Brazil. I also discuss the classification of skin colour in Brazil by offering an overview of the

multiple ways that Brazilians classify themselves, and the official classification of colours. I argue that the idea of 'racial democracy' in Brazil is still a 'myth' in the official representation, and that it is also a 'myth' in reality because there is little equality for 'minority' groups such as 'blacks' and 'mulattos' (Afro-Brazilians)⁵.

In Chapter Two, I provide an overview of the National Curriculum Parameters (PCN) and examine the foreign language (FL) curriculum. Next, I discuss the understanding of CPCCT and anti-racist education in the Brazilian context, and also the relationship between CPCCT and teachers' education. In this chapter I put forward two main arguments. First, I argue that the issues about CPCCT related to 'race'/ethnicity are more likely to be discussed in the broader field of education (sociology, curriculum and didactic) rather than in specific subjects such as English as a Foreign Language (EFL). Second, I argue that in the Brazilian context, the CPCCT covers a range of perspectives. These most frequently include multicultural education, and more recently 'intercultural education', and only occasionally 'anti-racist' education.

In Chapter Three, I first draw a justification for the use of the term 'anti-racist education' and the implication of the use of the term in the field of education. Second, I discuss the multicultural and intercultural issues: the need to move towards Critical Race Theory/anti-racist education. In this chapter I put forward two arguments.

First, I argue that the use of terms such as 'multicultural education' and 'intercultural education' is problematic as they are so broad and cover so many issues such as gender, class, religion, race, cultural studies, disability,

⁵ I will use the terms Black, Afro-descendant and Afro-Brazilian in the thesis interchangeably. The word black here means [*negro* - Brazilian terminology to identify black people's ethnicity]. The word black also means [*preto* - Brazilian terminology according to IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics) to identify black people]. Mulatto means [*pardo* - mixed race of black and white], and brown means [*moreno* - the term that many Afro-Brazilians use to identify themselves]. A more detailed explanation is provided in Chapter One.

etc., that they do not allow enough focus on the specific issue of 'race'/ethnicity.

Second, I argue that unless teachers have an adequate understanding of specific issues around 'race'/ethnicity, issues of CPCCT in schools will not be adequately addressed. For that reason, I take the perspective of Critical Race Theory (CRT) because CRT views racism as endemic across in society, working in multiple ways to subvert civil rights attempts. In the Brazilian context a perfect example of this is the continued existence of the 'myth of racial democracy'.

Chapter Four deals with the methodology, in this chapter I describe and discuss the collection of my data and its instruments. In this research I used a range of methods to collect data, including, open ended questionnaires, interviews, workshop of material development and classroom observation. In order to examine teachers' accounts I use the conceptual framework of Critical Race Theory applied to the field of education (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ladson-Billings, 1999; Tate, 1997).

Chapter Five examines teachers' own orientations to CPCCT, and more specifically the issue of 'race'/ethnicity. This chapter examines the accounts of the teachers themselves, taking into consideration: teachers' general perceptions of CPCCT and teachers' perceptions of 'race'/ethnicity; teachers' accounts according to their ethnicity. Finally, the chapter considers what would be needed for all teachers to develop a more sophisticated understanding of 'race'/ethnicity.

Chapter Six focuses on teachers' preparation to teach 'race'/ethnicity. In order to examine teachers' preparation I take into consideration factors such as: lack of preparedness; teachers' priorities in terms of their continuing professional development (CPD), and the barriers teachers face in implementing anti-racist education. I argue that initial teacher education (ITE) often provides teachers with a 'craft model knowledge' and as a result

teachers' priorities in terms of CPD are generally based on language skills rather than courses that would lead them to conduct reflective teaching.

Chapter Seven introduces the workshop and describes its components. In this chapter, I explain the need for the workshop, the anti-racist materials developed in the workshop, and the components of the workshop. I argue that because teachers lack time and materials there is a need to provide them with opportunities to teach the issue of 'race'/ethnicity, so that they feel confident and are not afraid about teaching what many of them considered to be a taboo topic.

Chapter Eight examines the issues arising from the use of materials produced by the teachers, and applied by them in their teaching. The framework of CRT helped me to analyse the 'story' of each teacher. I classify teachers' lessons into several 'stories' that occurred during the classroom observation.

Chapter Nine examines teachers' views of their experience of participating in the workshop. This chapter aims to analyse how teachers understood students' perceptions of 'race'/ethnicity, and students' participation in the classroom. The difficulties that teachers face when dealing with 'race'/ethnicity in classroom is also discussed. Finally, I examine the ways in which teachers perceived their own understanding after they had participated in the workshop and taught the issue of 'race'/ethnicity in their own classrooms.

In my conclusion I present a reflection on the major issues raised throughout this thesis. I discuss the implications of my research in the light of the latest changes that have occurred in the curriculum in Brazil. I point out the strengths and limitations of my research and explore issues for future research.

CHAPTER 1

THE BRAZILIAN CONTEXT

Fighting myths that are still alive in society (...) has always been a difficult and risky task. In Brazil the myth of racial democracy is not completely dead. Although profoundly weakened in the urban centers, the system of clientele and patronage still survives in Brazil (...).

(Costa, 1985: 246)

This chapter presents the Brazilian context, and more specifically examines the so-called 'myth of racial democracy'. I argue that the idea of 'racial democracy' in Brazil is still a 'myth' in the official representation and is also a 'myth' in reality because there is little equality for 'minority' groups such as 'blacks' and 'mulattos'. Discussions about ethnic identity are very complex, but are necessary for educators to take on board, considering that the National Curriculum Parameters (PCN) are being implemented, and within that, cultural plurality as a cross-curricular theme (CPCCT) is an important issue. First, I situate the 'myth of racial democracy' in its historical context and I then describe and discuss the classification of skin colours in Brazil and the ways that Brazilians classify themselves, relating their classification to issues of identity and belonging.

I consider the discussion of the issues highlighted above to be critical to my thesis because this provides important information about the existing social relations in Brazil concerning 'race'/ethnicity. This also will help to provide the foundation for the analysis of the data collected for this study, of particular importance, considering that the main purpose of this research is to understand the way that EFL teachers understand and address issues of CPCCT (more specifically 'race'/ethnicity) in the Brazilian educational context.

The complexities of engaging with race, ethnicity and colour

This section is intended to clarify my own position in relation to engaging in the discourse of 'race', ethnicity and colour. Discussions about 'race', ethnicity and colour in the Brazilian context are very complex because even the terminology itself can lead to misunderstandings about these issues. I will clarify the nomenclature first and explain my position in relation to these terminologies.

Gillborn argues that the terms 'race' and 'ethnicity' "are often used interchangeably" (p: 4). In Brazil, as in another contexts, issues of race are usually related to skin colour (Gomes, 1995). According to Heringer (2000: 3), in the Brazilian context the term "black" is associated with skin colour and physical features rather than ancestry. Writing about the issue of colour [*cor*], Telles (2002) has made the following observation:

Colour/*cor* captures the Brazilian equivalent of the English language term 'race' and is based on a combination of physical characteristics including skin colour, hair type, nose shape and lip shape with the non-white categories having negative connotations. (...) In Brazil, the word colour (*cor*) is often preferred to race (*raça*) because it captures the continuous nature of Brazilian racial concepts in which groups shade into one another.

(Telles, 2002: 421)

Gomes (1995) argues that in Brazil ethnicity is a more appropriate term than 'race' because of the specific Brazilian cultural and historical background. Cashmore (1984: 102) points out that, "The ethnic group is based on a commonness of subjective apprehension, whether about origins, interests (...) (or a combination of these)".

Considering the complexity of the nomenclature I will be taking multiple positions throughout my thesis. Although theoretically I agree that 'race' is a socially constructed phenomenon there will be times that I will emphasise issues of ethnicity because it is not possible to understand contemporary inequalities in relation to 'race' such as racism, institutional racism, prejudice

and discrimination without reference to history and ancestry. Although I take this position it is also necessary to clarify that it can carry with it the danger of essentialism. Brah states that essentialism is, "a notion of ultimate essence that transcends historical and cultural boundaries." (1992: 126). Kincheloe & Steinberg also point out that:

Essentialism is a complex concept that is commonly understood as the belief that a set of unchanging properties (essences) delineates the construction of particular category.

(Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997: 22)

I also want to clarify that in my thesis I will tend to use the words 'black' and 'white'. I will use this terminology because as I explained above there are racialized discourses of colour in Brazil, for example, people refer to 'colour' [*cor*] when they are referring to 'race'. This also might relate to an acknowledgement of the racialized discourses of colour in Brazil, despite the influence of 'the myth of racial democracy' and informants' own tendency to downplay their blackness through the process of 'whitening'. Although I will use the words 'black' and 'white' to describe my informants it is necessary to acknowledge that there is a potential problem with this because it constitutes a single 'black-white' binary identification in a country in which people have self-identified 136 gradations of colour. The gradations of colours were identified by the IBGE in the census used by Brazilians when they had to self-identify (as discussed below). In the next section I will discuss the 'myth of racial democracy'.

The 'myth of racial democracy'

The purpose of this section is to provide an historical background to the 'myth of racial democracy' as it has developed in Brazil⁶. The 'official' history of Brazil started with the arrival of Portuguese in April 1500. When the Portuguese arrived there were already Native Indians living in Brazil. The

⁶ For an excellent general background to Brazilian history see Fausto, Boris. (1998) *A concise history of Brazil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Portuguese colonisers needed people to work for them, and made the Native Indians slaves, but that policy failed because "the attempts to enslave the Indians proved mostly abortive, as they either withdrew to the less accessible parts of the interior, died of disease, or escaped" (Berghe 1984: 47). Consequently, the Portuguese started bringing African people to Brazil as slaves in the 1520s. They were brought mainly to the northeast of Brazil, where the biggest concentration of black people is found in Brazil today (Heringer, 2000: 4). Brazil has the world's second largest population of black people after Nigeria (Heringer, 2000: 4).

According to Prandi (2002: 52), during the period 1525 to 1851 more than five million African people were brought to Brazil in a condition of slavery. Slavery was abolished in 1888, Brazil being the last country in the world to abolish the practice (Heringer, 2000: 2). Subsequent European immigration to Brazil was an attempt by the Brazilian government to 'whiten' the national population in the late 19th century (Heringer, 2000: 2, see also Costa, 1985). This strategy based around facilitating white Europeans to emigrate to Brazil, was allied to a strong opposition to immigration from Asians and Africans (Hanchard, 1994: 53; Pinto, 1996: 194). This desire to 'whiten' the population was also encouraged through intermarriage to produce 'lighter-skinned' children (Telles, 2002: 418). The Brazilian elite, through government policies, did not want Brazil to have the status of a second-class country in the eyes of the rest of the world because the majority of the population were non-white (Telles, 2002: 418). According to Davis (2000), the attempt to 'whiten' Brazilian society was unsuccessful, and consequently the government projected this image of 'racial democracy' to the world. I argue that the idea of 'racial democracy' is a myth in reality because there is little equality of treatment for Afro-descendants. It also seems to be a myth when we observe the official representation of colours in Brazil.

The rhetoric of racial democracy

Many researchers have investigated the 'myth of racial democracy' in Brazil (e.g.: Akkari, 2001; Costa, 1985; Gomes, 1995; Heringer, 2000; Lovell, 2000;

Motta, 2000; Pinto, 1996; Santos, 2001; Souza E., 2001; Telles, 2002; Wells, 2003; Leonardo, 2002). Gomes (1995, see also Davis, 2000) argues that Gilberto Freyre introduced the 'myth of racial democracy' when he wrote *Casa-grande e senzala* [The Masters and the Slaves] in 1933. *Casa-grande e senzala* has been translated and published around the world and, according to Gomes⁷, has been highly influential in how Brazil is viewed abroad. In this book, Freyre used many ways to describe the relationship between blacks and whites. According to Schaeber (1999: 52), Freyre gives the impression in his book that Europeans, blacks and native Indians lived in relative harmony in Brazil. However, to give one example, the role of Indian and black women in Freyre's book is reduced to sexual reproduction, and their sexuality is portrayed by Freyre as an exotic characteristic (Gomes, 1995: 100).

Gomes (1995) demonstrates that *Casa Grande e Senzala* institutionalises the belief that Brazil is 'mestiço' (mixture of black, white and native Brazilian Indian), and Motta (2000), in his discussion of 'Paradigms in the study of race relations in Brazil', claims that the 'races' (as described by Freyre in his book) blended into 'morenos' (mixture of black and white) which has now become the Brazilian identity⁸.

The Brazilian population is now composed of 178 million inhabitants. The tables below are intended to show some aspects of Brazilian society related to colour. The first table (table 1.1) shows the distribution of population by colour shown by region according to the classification provided by IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics). In relation to table 1.1 it is clear that:

⁷ Since the 1930s, Freyre's ideas relating to 'racial democracy' have formed an important part of the self-image of most Brazilians. Those who have criticized Freyre (e.g. Schaeber 1999: 53) consider that his ideas formed part of a 'myth of racial democracy' which bears little relation to the reality of Brazilian history and the racism that exists within contemporary Brazilian society.

⁸ Moreno is not an official classification, but some people self-identify using this nomenclature. It is the same as mulatto [*pardo*] in the official classification.

- a) Brazil is not a “blended” nation in terms of race. In Brazil there is *still* a clear distinction in terms of ethnic groups.
- b) In some parts of Brazil the ethnic breakdown is distributed differently, for example, in the South the population tends to be whiter.
- c) A significantly large proportion of the population are Afro-descendant.

Table 1.1 Distribution of the population by colour and race. Adapted source: Heringer (2000: 5)

Distribution of the population by colour or race* - 1996					
	Percentage (%)				
	white	black	mulatto	yellow	native Indian
Brazil - Total	55.2	6.0	38.2	0.4	0.2
Urban North**	28.5	3.7	67.2	0.4	0.2
Northeast	30.6	6.1	62.9	0.1	0.2
Southeast	65.4	7.4	26.5	0.6	0.1
South	85.9	3.1	10.5	0.4	0.1
Centre-West	48.3	4.0	46.6	0.6	0.5

*Does not include people that haven't declared their colour.

** Does not include the population of the rural areas of Rondônia, Acre, Amazonas, Roraima, Pará and Amapá.

The second table (table 1.2) shows the number of school years by colour for people aged 15 years old or more in 1996. The third table (1.3) shows the number of students' entrance to Federal universities by colour. The final table (1.4) shows the number of Afro-descendants workings as lecturers and researchers in some of the main universities in Brazil.

Table 1.2 clearly shows the disparity that still exists in terms of colour in Brazilian society. Table 1.2 challenges the 'myth of racial democracy', it exposes the inequality of Brazilian population by ethnicity.

Table 1.2 Number of school years by colour. Adapted source: Heringer (2000: 11)

Number of school years by colour, people 15 years old or more. Brazil, 1996				
	Percentage (%)			
Number of school years	whites	blacks	mulattos	Total
Less than 1 year/ never went to school	11.8	26.2	23.4	16.7
1 - 3 years	13.3	18.5	19.5	15.9
4 - 8 years	43.8	41.3	40.7	42.4
9 - 11 years	20.3	11.2	13.3	17.2
12 years and more	10.9	2.4	2.8	7.5
No information	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3

As is shown, on average white people have more years access to school compared to black and mulatto people. Research carried out by Santos S. (2003: 101) with postgraduate students at the Federal University of Brasília demonstrates their opinions in relation to racial discrimination in Brazil. According to Santos, 82 percent of the respondents said that there is racism in Brazil, 8 percent said that there is not, 0.8 percent said they do not know, and 4 percent other. Table 1.3 below presents the rate to entrance at the principal federal and state universities in Brazil by ethnicity, and is another example of the way that racism operates in Brazil. Because these universities are free, students do not have to pay, and they are the most prestigious in Brazil, because of their high academic standard.

Table 1.3 Percentage of students' entrance to Federal and State universities in Brazil. Adapted source: Guimarães (2003b: 204).

	UFRJ Southeast Rio de Janeiro	UFPR South Paraná	UFMA North Maranhão	UFBA Northeast Bahia	UnB Centre- West Brasília	USP Southeast São Paulo
White	76.8	86.5	47	50.8	63.7	78.2
Black (Afro- descendants)	20.3	8.6	42.8	42.6	32.3	8.3
Yellow (Asian descendants)	1.6	4.1	5.9	3	2.9	13.0
Native Brazilian Indian	1.3	0.8	4.3	3.6	1.1	0.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
% of population who are black	44.63	20.27	73.36	74.95	47.98	27.4

Table 1.4 shows the figures for the number of lecturers and researchers in the main universities in Brazil. The reason for showing the universities in tables 1.3 and 1.4 is because it is in these state and federal universities that the most prestigious researchers and lecturers work. Thus, I wish to demonstrate that the inequality of opportunities also extends to university level in terms of the relative lack of Afro-Brazilian lecturers and researchers.

Table 1.4 Number of Afro-descendants university lecturers and researchers. Adapted source: Carvalho (2003: 167).

Universities	Black lecturers and researchers	Total
UnB – Federal University of Brasília	15	1500
UFSCar – Federal University of São Carlos	3	670
UFRGS – Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul	3	1300
UFG – Federal University of Goiânia	15	1170
UFMG – Federal University of Minas Gerais	20	2700
Federal University of Pará	18	2200
UERJ – State University of Rio de Janeiro	5	2300
UNICAMP – State University of Campinas	5	1761
USP – University of São Paulo	20	4705
UFRJ – Federal University of Rio de Janeiro	20	3200

The tables above clearly indicate the inequality that exists in Brazil concerning colour related to elementary and secondary school access, university access, and university lecturers and researchers. According to Gandin (2002), "The 'myth of racial democracy' that has been reproduced historically in Brazil is easily destroyed when we add racial analysis" (p: 7). The figures above in tables 1.2, 1.3 and 1.4 are examples of the fact that if we "add racial analysis" to the statistics above it is possible to highlight the inequality in terms of opportunities between Afro-descendants and whites that exists in contemporary Brazil.

Official classification of colour

Costa, (1985), Gomes (1995), Pinto (1996) and Telles (2002) have all discussed the designation of the colour of the Brazilian population. The official classification of colours is important because it demonstrates the way that the government understands and classifies the Brazilian population. Thus, the choices given by the Brazilian population as outlined below can express how the IBGE⁹ (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics) understands the composition of ethnic groups in Brazil. I would argue that the classification by colours occurs because Brazilian citizens have been taught to self-identify themselves by colour and not by their ancestry.

The official classifications of colour in Brazil according to the IBGE are: branco (white - European descendants), preto (black – Afro-descendants), pardo (mulatto – mixed 'race' of black and white), índio (native Brazilian Indian - Brazilian native Indian descendants) and amarelo (yellow – Asian descendants). In Brazil, black people tend to self-identify themselves by referring to colours such as: moreno (brown/mulatto), moreno claro (light brown), mulato (pardo/moreno), moreninho (little brown) etc. According to d'Adesky (2001: 136, see also Gomes, 1995; Lemos 1999; Pinto, 1996; and Schwarcz, 1998: 227) the popular classification of colour in Brazil includes

⁹ The IBGE organizes census studies of population profile in Brazil.

136 ways that people use to self-identify themselves¹⁰. Pinto (1996: 197) states that black descendants often wish to continue the process of 'whitening', which in the Brazilian context means becoming lighter in skin colour through inter-marriage¹¹. This perpetuates the process of 'whitening' that the country went through for several centuries, and which was encouraged by government policies, as stated earlier.

Some examples of the racist connotations attached to colour are shown by the fact that jokes are still made to emphasise the colour of skin related to bad behaviour or lack of professional success (Akkari, 2001; Davis, 2000; d'Adesky, 2001; Gomes, 1995; Pinto, 1996; Telles, 2002). For instance, Davis (2000) gives some examples demonstrating that police and other authorities in Brazil use expressions such as "suspicious appearance, face of a robber (...) to refer to the presence of black people" (p. 99). Also, until fairly recently it was common for job advertisements to request applicants, to be of 'good appearance', meaning black people need not apply. Consequently, what occurs is that instead of referring to themselves as Afro-Brazilian, Afro-descendants, black, or black descendants, the tendency for people is to try to portray themselves as 'light' as possible. The process of negation of their

¹⁰ "The colours found by the IBGE in the census used by Brazilians when they had to self-identify were: [translations of the terms are in appedix 12] acastanhada, agalegada, alva, alva-escura, alvarenta, alva-rosada, alvinha, amarelada, amarela-queimada, amarelota, amorenada, avermelhada, azul, azul-marinho, baiano, bem branca, bem clara, bem morena, branca, branca avermelhada, branca melada, branca morena, branca pálida, branca sardenta, branca suja, branquiça, branquinha, bronze, bronzeada, bugrezinha escura, burro-quando-foge, cabocla, cabo verde, café, café-com-leite, canela, canelada, cardão, castanha, castanha clara, cobre corada, cor de café, cor de canela, cor de cuia, cor de leite, cor de ouro, cor de rosa, cor firme, crioula, encerada, enxofrada, esbranquicento, escurinha, fogoió, galega, galegada, jambo, laranja, lilás, loira, loira clara, loura, lourinha, malaia, marinheira, marrom, meio amarela, meio branca, meio morena, meio preta, melada, mestiça, miscigenação, mista, morena bem chegada, morena bronzeada, morena canelada, morena castanha, morena clara, morena cor de canela, morenada, morena escura, morena fechada, morenã, morena prata, morena roxa, morena ruiva, morena trigueira, moreninha, mulata, mulatinha, negra, negrta, pálida, paraíba, parada, parda clara, polaca, pouco clara, pouco morena, preta, pretinha, puxa para branca, quase negra, queimada de praia, queimada de sol, regular, retinha, rosa, rosada, rosa queimada, roxa, ruiva, russo, sapeca, saraá, saraúba, tostada, trigo, triqueira, turva, verde, vermelha. Also others did not declare their skin colour" (Lemos, 1999: 7, see also Levine & Crocitti, 1999: 386-390; Schwarcz, 1998: 227).

¹¹ Davis (2000: 73) states that inter-racial marriage is not as common in Brazil as one would think. Apart from that, it is rare to see inter-racial marriage portrayed on television and in newspapers.

ethnicity is accepted by society, and certain (lighter) shades of colour are associated with 'status' within society (d'Adesky, 2001: 137; Goffman, 1985).

Because of this legacy, in the last few years black leaders have created campaigns of affirmative action so that Afro-descendants can feel proud of their colour and their ancestry. This is a strategy designed to allow Afro-Brazilians to recognise themselves as the people that made their own history and to show that they can make their own future. Afro-Brazilians are encouraged to value their identity and their contribution as an Afro-Brazilian community that has a specific geographic origin, religion and habits. This is an attempt to show the positive side of their history, and in particular their struggle to be free and equal citizens (d'Adesky, 2001: 157; Gundara, 2000: 82; Pinto, 1996: 196).

d'Adesky (2001: 146), conducted research to understand the categories of 'race' in Brazil, and in his findings he observed that being black in Brazil means having different physical features from white people, being a dark or black colour, and having African ancestors. Although there are huge discussions in Brazilian society about identifying oneself by colour, it is still generally believed by the majority of Brazilians that Brazil is a 'colour-blind country', a 'racial paradise' or a 'racial democracy' (d'Adesky, 2001; Gomes, 1995; Pinto, 1996; Telles, 2002). The reluctance of black people to define themselves as such, as shown above, would suggest that there exists a difficulty for them to affirm their identity in terms of their ancestry. I would argue that this reluctance may also prevent them from discussing issues that relate to their own interest, such as affirmative action, the low percentage of black people entering university etc. This occurs because they do not engage in the discussions, as they do not recognise themselves as Afro-descendants. Although this thesis will not discuss the issue of affirmative action, Brazilian universities have recently introduced affirmative action policies relating to admissions which have resulted in a heated debate on the issue.

In relation to the terminology, Afro-Brazilian activists used to prefer to use the term 'Negro' relating to a black person (Telles, 2002: 422). They preferred this term because it is associated with ethnic origin rather than colour. Recently, black activists introduced the term "Afro-descendant" and "Afro-Brazilian" as a way to self-define, and as a substitute for the former terms "black" [preto], "negro" [negro], mulatto [pardo], and the 136 other ways of self-identification mentioned earlier. However, people who are not aware of this use the terms 'preto' [black] and 'negro' interchangeably (this terminology is evident in the Chapters of analysis of my study when teachers used the terminology to refer to Afro-Brazilians).

Identity in the Brazilian context

For a better understanding of the 136 ways Brazilians self-classified themselves as discussed earlier, it is necessary to consider the issues of identity and belonging. I would argue that Afro-descendants do not classify themselves as 'preto' [black] in the official classification given by IBGE, but as 'pardo' [mulatto] or even white because the term 'black' [preto] is associated with negative connotations in Brazilian society. Pinto (1996), in her research "Classifying the Brazilian population by colour: underlying problems", questioned the extent to which a "(...) negative ambient in relation to blacks and the exaltation of whites and the color white influence people at the moment at which they have to classify or be classified as belonging to a certain segment of the population" (pp. 196-197). Pinto suggests that to belong to a certain 'race'/ethnicity it is necessary to have an identification with the group that one belongs to. This also means that according to Muller et al. (2002a), identity is a social construction that produces social effects (p. 32). According to Hall (2000), "Identities are thus points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us" (p. 19). To sum up, I would suggest that when Brazilian people are invited to self-categorize, their decision is related to the image that has already been constructed for them and is associated with negative images. Afro-Brazilians may well choose to identify themselves using lighter shades of colour.

Another aspect that seems to influence how Afro-Brazilians see themselves is the way that official history books and textbooks in Brazil have traditionally portrayed black people. According to Pinto (1999: 210, see also Silva A. C. 1995, 2001, 2002), history books produced in Brazil have tended to overemphasise the role of Afro-descendants as slaves, and do not focus on the history of black people in Brazil after the abolition of slavery. She also points out that official texts do not always describe the integration of Afro-descendants into Brazilian society¹². The discussions in schools are almost wholly of a Brazil without social and economical differences concerning 'race'/ethnicity. Yet, the discussions in history books have often shown in a naïve and simplistic way that Brazil is a product of three 'races' – native Indian, white people and black people – that all combined to produce the Brazilian people (Brasil, 1998b: 126). This is a naïve view because it claims that all of the three 'races' live harmoniously in Brazil with no problems among them.

Another aspect affecting identity is the neutralisation of cultural 'differences', which sometimes subordinate one culture to another. In this way, a simplistic view of a Brazil based on the "myth of racial democracy" is perpetuated in textbooks used in Brazilian schools (Brasil, 1998b: 126). However, a new Law 10639, was approved on 9th January 2003 (Brasil, 2003) that makes it compulsory for all schools to teach about Afro-Brazilian and African History and culture, throughout the curriculum, but especially in Arts, Literature and Brazilian history. The guidance to teach these contents was approved on the 17th June 2004 (Brasil, 2004a, 2004b).

¹² The 'myth of racial democracy' in Brazil implies that all Brazilian citizens are equal and that everybody has the same chances to achieve what they want. The 'media', through television, newspapers and magazines, have used the images of some famous black people (such as the former footballer Pelé) to emphasise 'equality' as stated by Gomes (1995) and Davis (2000). The influence of the contribution of African people to Brazilian society can easily be seen in food, religion, dance etc. (Akkari, 2001; d'Adesky, 2001). However, in terms of equality this social integration has failed to occur.

'Race'/ethnicity in the context of this research

In this section I discuss the way that I will be addressing the issue of 'race'/ethnicity in the context of this thesis. Some recent discussion in Brazil has considered the concepts of 'race'/ethnicity. Gomes (1995) has concluded that ethnicity is a more appropriate term than 'race', because of the specific Brazilian cultural and historical background. In other words, in the Brazilian context the term "black" is associated with skin colour and physical features rather than ancestry (Heringer, 2000: 3).

I chose to use both words 'race'/ethnicity in this research. I believe both words carry the idea of racism, but nevertheless carry different meanings (see Archer 2003: 160, Gillborn & Youdell, 2000: 4). The terminology in the field of 'race' is very sensitive and 'race' is still a problematic term, because it carries with it the notion of biologically distinct species. In this research the word 'race' is "in inverted commas to denote its contested and socially constructed nature" (Gillborn, 2002b: 55). It is important to distinguish between the terms 'race' and 'ethnicity'. Gillborn (1995) states that "'race' is usually associated with physical differences (phenotype) such as skin colour, while 'ethnic' refers to groups set apart by a shared cultural identity (e.g. on the basis of language, religion or history). However, the terms are often used interchangeably" (p. 4, his emphasis). Importantly, McLaren & Torres (1999) argue that "it is racism as an ideology that produces the notion of 'race', not the existence of 'races' that produces racism" (p. 49). Thus, where people have to use these terms it means that there is a need to discuss and address issues about 'race'/ethnicity, because racism and inequality are still present in our social relations. For instance, McLaren & Torres (1999: 49) argue that the "construction of the ideal of race" materializes when there is an ideology that affords the practice of racism. Equally, Parekh (2000) presents his definition of 'race', claiming that "the term 'race' is of essential importance, since it refers to the reality of racism" (p. xxiv). Thus, according to Gillborn (1995: 1), although the discussion of 'race' seems to be obvious, it is in fact "complex and dynamic" and at the same time dangerous to contemporary society.

In the Brazilian context, the terms 'race' and 'ethnicity' are used interchangeably but some research groups in Brazil prefer to adopt the term 'ethnic groups'. The concepts of 'race'/ethnicity that I will use in this research are related to social construction (Cavalleiro, 2001; d'Adesky, 2001; Gillborn, 1995; Gomes, 1995; Gundara et al., 1986; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Mac an Ghaill, 1999; May, 1999; McLaren & Torres, 1999; Parekh, 2000; Pinto, 1993, 1996, 1999; Silva A. C., 1995, 2001, 2002). This means that I am not taking into consideration the concept or idea of 'race' as a synonym of some biological features/type, or markers such as skin colour, hair texture, facial features and stature, that could define differences in people related to their intelligence for instance. 'Race' is not a 'biological given', and I agree with Telles (2002: 421) when he claims that the idea of racial ideologies is embodied in theories that consider white people superior to others, which is the case in the western world and is a significant factor in Brazil. However, this is not a 'fact', but a socially constructed phenomenon (Apple, 1999; Canen, 2003; Dolby, 2000; Kreutz, 1999; Pinto, 1999), and those who are in power build the national identity according to their own interests (Moita Lopes, 2003b: 19). But that does not mean that national identity could not be changed, re-thought, re-conceptualised "as subject to redefinition, resistance, and change" (Apple, 1999: 14 quoting Scott, 1995: 11). Thus, to discuss identity in relation to 'race'/ethnicity, it is necessary to consider the complexity of identity and belonging that is associated with racism in Brazil (see Chapter Nine).

Conclusion

This chapter has described the 'myth of racial democracy' and the way it articulates through the classification of colour in Brazilian society, and also through the identity of Afro-Brazilian descendants. I have argued that the classification of colour related to black people can be a strong indication of how people define their identity in Brazil. In the field of education, identity formation is being discussed, nationally and internationally, with the purpose of questioning the theoretical knowledge that underpins the curriculum. This

discussion about the curriculum is concerned about the valorisation of multiple identities in formal education¹³ (Canen, 2000: 136). In Brazil, according to Canen (2000), Gandin et al. (2002), Kreutz (1999), Moreira (2001b, 2002a), Pinto (1999), Silva M. A. (2001) and others, with the implementation of the National Curriculum Parameters (PCN), the discussion has become more relevant mainly because there is a theme called cultural plurality that should be worked as a cross-curricular theme. According to Macdonald (2003), there are many cultural identities in anyone's space, such as the school system or the school itself (p. 145). Yet there are several implications that curriculum builders should take into consideration, and identity formation is one of them.

In the next chapter, I discuss the guidelines of how the PCN (National Curriculum Parameters) was created in Brazil and PCN of FL (foreign language) which provides an understanding of CPCCT in the context of FL, which raises a number of important questions. For instance, how can CPCCT be introduced into schools? Are EFL teachers prepared to implement the PCN? Are schools discussing in their planning meetings how/who to implement it? Although it is not possible to address all these issues in this study, my questions are not rhetorical but rather an indication of the failings that might materialise when a curriculum is being implemented. I also introduce the plurality of concepts used to address CPCCT in the Brazilian educational context.

¹³ Formal education: year one to year 8, also called elementary education.

CHAPTER 2

CULTURAL PLURALITY AS A CROSS-CURRICULAR THEME: AN OVERVIEW

In this chapter I examine how cultural plurality as a cross-curricular theme (CPCCT) is presented in the Brazilian educational context. First, I present a brief overview of debates about race in Brazil and how they are relevant to the PCN. Second, I discuss the way that CPCCT is presented in the policy document, National Curriculum Parameters (PCN). I analyse the CPCCT document as it relates to all subjects, and then I discuss CPCCT within the FL (foreign language) field. Finally, I examine how the use of the term CPCCT¹⁴ originally used in the PCN was replaced by the terms 'multicultural education' and 'intercultural education' and occasionally 'anti-racist education'. In this chapter I will put forward two main arguments.

First, I argue that issues concerning CPCCT related to 'race'/ethnicity are more likely to be discussed in the broader field of education (sociology, curriculum and didactic) rather than in specific subjects such as English as a foreign language (EFL).

Second, I argue that in the Brazilian context, the CPCCT covers a range of perspectives. These most frequently include multicultural education, and more recently 'intercultural education', and occasionally 'anti-racist' education.

¹⁴ CPCCT (cultural plurality as a cross-curricular) is the term used in the official document of the PCN, but researchers in Brazil addressing CPCCT use the terms 'multicultural education' or 'intercultural education' and sometimes 'anti-racist education'.

'Race' in Brazil and its relevance to the PCN

This section aims to present a brief overview of debates about 'race' in Brazil, and more specifically an explanation of when they arose, and why and how they have developed since then. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to provide a comprehensive analysis of the debate about 'race' in Brazil, however, I believe it is important to provide a brief background overview.

The Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre developed the concept of 'racial democracy' in the 1930s (discussed in Chapter One). Skidmore explains that: "The belief in "racial democracy", whether it fitted the historical facts or not, has been the operating racial ideal among the Brazilian elite since at least 1920" (1985: 13). He continues:

The 1930s were the decade that elsewhere saw the application of one of History's most vicious racist dogmas, anti-semitism. In the aftermath of 1945, Europeans looked abroad for models of interracial peace. Hadn't Brazil for years been disproving the racist shibboleths about miscegenation? In 1950, UNESCO decided to study Brazil's harmonious race relations and share Brazil's secret with the world. International teams of scholars, primarily anthropologists, undertook field research around the country, pursuing common research goals.

(Skidmore, 1985: 13)

This UNESCO research "documented as never before the prevalence of racial discrimination, and the persistence of the ideology of 'whitening'" (Winant, 1991: 175). The research also questioned Freyre's theories and constituted a new racial 'revisionism' (Winant, 1991: 175, see also Winant 1999).

In the 1960s and 1970s any discussion related to racial inequalities was not encouraged by the military dictatorship, that also silenced most intellectual and political activities (Heringer, 1999: 42, see also Lovell, 2000). At the end of 1970s a wide variety of social movements emerged, one of which was the black movement (as well as feminists, Native Brazilian Indians, gay and lesbian and other movements). The black movement (which is considered an

anti-racist movement) protested against the military regime and also fought to combat racial discrimination in Brazil (Gonçalves & Gonçalves e Silva, 2003: 116-117, see also Silva M. 2003: 112; Heringer, 1999: 42). According to Skidmore (1985), "Attention to race increased, in a small but perceptible fashion. Brazilians of color began to publicly question the myth of racial democracy" (p: 17).

Brazil returned to civil government in 1985 and a new Brazilian constitution was approved in 1988. According to Silva Junior (1999), this constitution represented an important step forward in the juridical-political treatment of the theme of race, and this was considered to be due to political pressure from the black movement (p: 99). Heringer (1999) states that in the 1980s academics started once again to examine the "issue of race" (p: 42). Even so, Winant (1991) argues that:

(...) despite its considerable strengths, the literature on race in Brazil suffers from a series of debilitating problems, including a neglect of the discursive and cultural dimensions of race, an exaggerated belief in the omnipotence of elites where racial management is concerned, and a tendency to downplay the tensions and conflicts involved in Brazilian racial dynamics. These limitations largely derived from a deep-seated tradition of class reductionism (...). Such criticisms point to the need for a new approach, one which would avoid treating race as a manifestation of some other, supposedly more basic, social relationship.

(Winant, 1991: 183)

According to Lovell (2000), from the early 1990s "there has been a growing awareness of and attention to race and gender concerns within both feminist and black discourses" (p: 87). This coincides with the period in which researchers in Brazil started to focus more on the issue of 'race'. Guimarães (2003e: 253), confirms that during the period between the late 1980s to middle 1990s several mobilizations occurred because of the centenary of the abolition of slavery in Brazil in 1988. This encouraged much discussion about racial inequalities and racism in Brazil as well as "the Brazilian way of racism" [*o racismo à brasileira*] (p: 253). This discussion became even more acute in the academic environment because of the implementation of the PCN (that

discussed CPCCT - cultural plurality as a cross-curriculum theme and within that 'race'/ethnicity), which started in 1994 (discussed in greater detail later in this chapter). In addition, recent affirmative actions within universities, and the Law 10.639, that was passed on 9th January 2003 (Brasil, 2003), which made it compulsory for all school curricula to include the discussion of Afro-Brazilian and African history and culture have provoked further discussion on this issue. In the next section I discuss the PCN.

National Curriculum Parameters

This section introduces the National Curriculum Parameters (PCN) and Cultural Plurality as a cross-curricular theme (CPCCT), and is based on the following structure. First, I provide information on how the PCN was constructed. I argue that the PCN was largely influenced by top-down policy making, rather than a bottom-up approach. Second, I introduce the CPCCT guidelines for all subjects, and also the FL (foreign language) PCN¹⁵. I argue that EFL is a core subject with equal responsibility for promoting education for equality. Finally, I discuss CPCCT within the PCN of FL and I consider how the PCN of FL integrates the discourse of 'race'/ethnicity.

The reason for discussing these aspects is due to the fact that it is the primary intention of this thesis to understand the way that EFL teachers address and understand issues of CPCCT related to 'race'/ethnicity.

PCN: an historical overview

In Brazil, schools now have a PCN for the first time. The new PCN started to be implemented in schools in 1998. Before that, each of the 27 Brazilian states used to have their own policies to implement the curriculum in schools. The PCN is based on themes intended to be taught as cross-curricular

¹⁵ The PCN discusses FL (foreign language). I collected data in this research with teachers teaching EFL (English as a foreign language) because in Green City the FL taught is English. Thus, that is the reason why in this thesis sometimes FL is used when I refer to the PCN, and when I address EFL I am specifically referring to my research and informants.

themes in eight subjects, Portuguese, History, Geography, Maths, Natural Science, Art, Physical Education and Foreign Language. The themes are: ethics, health, environmental issues, sexual education, cultural plurality and labour. Brasil (1998b) claims that the PCN was produced in an attempt to respect the regional, cultural and political diversities that exist in Brazil.

The preliminary version of the PCN started to be produced at the end of 1994 (Moreira, 1996: 10). As Moreira (1996) states, the Secretary of Fundamental Education of MEC¹⁶, arranged a meeting to which were invited sixty Brazilian scholars, and representatives from other countries such as Argentina, Colombia, Chile and Spain. The discussion with representatives of these countries (where recent changes to the curriculum had taken place) was designed to help to construct the national curriculum in Brazil (Moreira, 1996: 10). Several discussions occurred during this period, and by the beginning of 1996 the preliminary version was ready. The document was sent to around 400 teachers from several fields of knowledge and also some specialists in education (Lopes, 1999: 60). The preliminary version was also sent to teachers in different states of Brazil, so that they could make their contribution to improve the preliminary version of the PCN (Moreira, 1996:10).

Although the preliminary version of the PCN was sent to several teachers to provide their contribution, Canen (2000: 141) states that there was not enough previous consultation with the academic community on the initial proposals, and she argues that there was an excessively psychological approach. Moreira (1996: 10) agrees with Canen (2000) that the inspiration behind the Brazilian curriculum was César Coll, a scholar of Educational Psychology from Barcelona University. Moreira (1996) also emphasises that the same process had already happened in countries such as Spain, the USA, England, and Argentina from the 1980s, and was associated with a neo-liberal view of education. Apple, argues that:

¹⁶ MEC – Brazilian Department of Education.

(...) neo-liberalism has come to represent a positive conception of the state's role in creating the appropriate market by providing the conditions, laws and institutions necessary for its operation. (...). In neo-liberalism the state seeks to create an individual who is an enterprising and competitive entrepreneur.

(Apple, 2001, quoting Mark Olssen, 1996: 340)

Apple's criticism of neo-liberalism in relation to educational policies is that the discourses within the policies are "disconnected from the actual lived realities of real schools, teachers, students, and communities" (Apple, 2001: 421). Moreira (1996: 12-13) highlights some of the limitations in the national curriculum in other countries, one of them being that teachers are not sufficiently well qualified and prepared to receive the national curriculum due to the fact that they have too many roles to perform in their schools (i.e.: preparation of lessons, participation in school meetings, too many classes, and long journeys to reach school). Figueiró (2002: 70) equally emphasises that in the Brazilian process of formulating the PCN, the teachers did not participate sufficiently. In other words, Figueiró claims that the PCN was built using a 'top down' approach, rather than a 'bottom up' or even a 'partnership' approach (in which teacher educators, teachers, administrators, curriculum developers, professional associations, researchers and parents would all participate) (Macdonald, 2003: 142). Another criticism of the PCN is that it tends to merely copy documents from abroad rather than formulating specifically Brazilian policies (Figueiró, 2002: 78).

Despite the limitations presented above, Canen (2000: 141) states that in the initial proposal, it is important to highlight that the PCN recognised CPCCT (cultural plurality as a cross-curricular theme) to be taught in the field of education. According to Gomes & Gonçalves e Silva (2002: 26; see also Gonçalves & Gonçalves e Silva, 2003; Souza E., 2001: 54), the fact that CPCCT is included in the PCN is not due to the influence of researchers or educators with innovative proposals to construct the curriculum. Rather, the inclusion of CPCCT is a result of action and struggles by social movements such as the black movement, that have been fighting for a democratic and equal treatment towards difference (Gomes & Gonçalves e Silva, 2002: 26).

In relation to the statement made by Gomes & Gonçalves e Silva (2002) above, I will now provide the background to the way that the PCN – CPCCT reflects and perhaps contains the demands of the black movement (as one of the social movements) for equality. The black movement in Brazil is a growing source of pressure for changes in the educational field. According to Apple (2003), there is a “rapidly growing politics of racial identity that had been taking place among Afro-Brazilian people” (p. 108) and the black movement is one of the bodies responsible for that development.

According to Souza E. (2001), some elements of the debate about the issue of ‘race’ that started in the early 1980s can be detected in the PCN - CPCCT (Souza E., 2001: 54). The CPCCT also reflects an attempt to respond to the demands of the black movement. Souza E. recognizes that there is a huge theoretical discussion within the CPCCT about racial discrimination, however, she considers that the document also gives the impression that it is not an integrated text, capable of providing guidance to schools to put theory into practice. According to Souza, the PCN - CPCCT there is not a coherent text that could guide actions (Souza E., 2001: 55). She also recognizes that within the PCN - CPCCT document reflects the idea of the ‘myth of racial democracy’, it means that in Brazil there is not prejudice and everybody is equal with the same rights (Souza E., 2001: 55). Another aspect mentioned by Gonçalves e Silva (2004) is that although some Afro-Brazilian scholars and groups within the black movement criticised the CPCCT, “the official material on cultural pluralism omits the actual racial problems in Brazil” (p: 2). The responsibility is given to teachers and to the school. The reflection of Apple’s quote (below) might help to understand what is behind the PCN in Brazil in relation to ‘race’.

When we are talking about racism and reform in current policies, we need to turn the genetic fallacy around. The overt motivations of the sponsors of Labour’s policies in the UK, of the Bush proposals for education such as the establishment of national testing in the US, or the plans for a national curriculum in Brazil may not have been about race or may have assumed that such proposals would ‘level the playing field’ for everyone. Their intentions may have been self-consciously ‘meritorious’. (I very much mean this play on words.) Yet, conscious

originating motives do not guarantee at all how arguments and policies will be employed, what their multiple and determinate functions and effects will be, whose interests they will ultimately serve, and what identifiable patterns of differential benefits will emerge, given existing and unequal relations of economic, cultural, and social capital and given unequal strategies of converting one form of capital to another in our societies.

(Apple, 2003: 110)

Taking into consideration the discussion above, I would argue that not all of the demands of the black movement were incorporated into the PCN - CPCCT. To better understand the contribution of the black movement in the education field I will briefly present some of their achievements. I would also like to emphasize that unfortunately it is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss in detail the achievements and the other contributions of the black movement in Brazilian society, however I believe it is important to acknowledge their contribution¹⁷. Gonçalves & Gonçalves e Silva (2000) are academics and activists in the black movement. In their study, "Black movement and Education", they note that the first event to carry out a theoretical overview of the issue of "Black race and education" [Raça Negra e Educação] was organized in 1986 by the Carlos Chagas Foundation. The event was attended by, university researchers, community educators, technicians, and secretary of education members.

¹⁷ The influence of the black movement can be detected in recent legislative changes, particularly Law 10.639, passed on 9th January 2003 (Brasil, 2003), which made it compulsory for all school curricula to include the discussion of Afro-Brazilian and African history and culture. The content will include: history of Africa and African people, the struggle of black people in Brazil, Afro-Brazilian culture and black people in the formation of national society, and the contribution of black people in the social, economic and political fields related to the history of Brazil. The content related to Afro-Brazilian and African history and culture will be implemented in all school curricula especially in the subjects of Arts, Literature, and Brazilian History (Brasil, 2003). Because of this legislative change, a further change was promoted. On 17th June 2004, the National Council of Education (Brasil, 2004a; 2004b) approved the national curricular guidance entitled, Education of Racial-Ethnic relations and the teaching of Afro-Brazilian and African history and culture. The document is very emphatic that the subject should combat racism, xenophobia, exclusion, name-calling, etc. Now all university courses that prepare teachers at all levels (elementary, secondary and university level) have to address these issues in the curriculum. The document also includes many of the concerns of the black movement in terms of equality and justice related to Afro-Brazilians. The person who proposed the change was Dr. Petronilha Beatriz Gonçalves e Silva, who is a black activist and an academic (she was the first black woman to write a thesis in Brazil about black issues in the field of education). As the guidance (see Brasil, 2003, Brasil, 2004a, 2004b) was approved after my data was collected I will provide comments about the guidance and this specific Law in the conclusion chapter of my thesis. In the conclusion chapter I discuss the implication of my findings in relation to the guidance (see Brasil, 2004a; 2004b).

In 1987, members of the black movement pressurized the Student Assistance Foundation, FAE [Fundação de Assistência ao Estudante] to adopt measures to avoid racism in textbooks. Throughout the 1980s the black movement fought in favour of issues such as the democratization of education for black students, and denounced racism and the dominant school ideology (Gonçalves & Gonçalves e Silva, 2000: 154). Several issues were highlighted such as: textbooks, curriculum, teacher education etc. (Gonçalves & Gonçalves e Silva, 2000: 155). In the 1990s this trend continued throughout the work of the black movement in initiatives such as:

- The Black studies nucleus [Núcleo de Estudos do Negro] in Santa Catarina in the south of Brazil. This group has been publishing research in journals on the specific theme of black people and education, and has also been promoting seminars on the same issue.
- In Bahia in the northeast of Brazil, the Centre of Afro-Oriental Studies [Centro de Estudos Afro-Orientais] together with the State University of Bahia, organises courses to prepare teachers to deal with cultural diversity.
- In São Paulo, the Afro-Brazilian Nucleus [Núcleo de Estudos Afro-Brasileiros] in the Federal University of São Carlos, has also been running courses to prepare teachers to fight against racism.

(Gonçalves & Gonçalves e Silva, 2000: 155)

Gonçalves & Gonçalves e Silva (2000: 155) point out that these examples highlight the fact that non-governmental organizations such as the black movement have a very important role to play in actions that attempt to improve educational equality for black people in Brazil¹⁸.

¹⁸ Much more research has been carried out by academic activists and academics on the black movement in general (see Cunha Jr., 2003a, 2003b; Munanga, 1996, 2003; Souza, A., 2001; Souza, E., 2001; Santos, I., 2001; Gomes, 2003a, 2003b and many others). Although this thesis will not discuss the issue of affirmative action, it is important to point out that some universities in Brazil have recently started to implement affirmative action policies (see Carvalho, 2003; Gonçalves e Silva, 2003; Guimarães, 2003b, 2003d; Martins et al., 2004; Santos & Lobato, 2003; Silva L., 2003 and many others).

It can be seen that the PCN emerged predominantly in a top-down manner, but was also influenced in a bottom-up manner in response to the pressure from the black movement. Although I agree that the black movement in Brazil has had an important role in implementing CPCCT in the PCN, it is impossible to deny that, as stated earlier, the PCN in Brazil followed the example of the implementation of the curricula in countries such as Spain, the USA, England, and Argentina from the 1980s onwards. In addition, according to Lopes (1999: 61), several curricular reforms related to cultural diversity were encouraged by the United Nations Organization (UNO) which are intended to promote "culture through peace" (Lopes, 1999: 61). Lopez (1999) states that the UN proclaimed 1995 as a year in favour of tolerance because of worldwide concerns about unemployment, discrimination against minorities groups, social inequalities, religious extremism, and social, economic and ethnic exclusion (p. 61). She also states that:

According to the report of the International Commission About Education in the XXI Century (UNESCO 1995) (...) . Some issues were raised such as: how to organize education (...) respecting pluralism. How to teach democracy, an important issue, taking into consideration the several worldwide conflicts that occurred due to ethnic and religious disagreements. In this emphasis, the work with multicultural contexts, the understanding, the respect and dialogue among cultures are understood as ways of education that are capable of contributing to the formation of tolerance, consensus, agreement, fighting against xenophobia, violence and social conflicts.

(Lopes, 1999: 61, my translation)

My main point here is that the black movement was an important social movement to force change, however, the way that their demands were implemented in the PCN - CPCCT as discussed above does not seem to have addressed all their demands. That is why I consider that the PCN – CPCCT was more likely to reflect a top-down approach. In the next section I briefly examine the guideline of CPCCT for all subjects.

Cultural Plurality as a cross-curricular theme: guideline for all subjects

The top-down orientation of the policy can be seen in the PCN documentation. The PCN addressing CPCCT in the specific document that gives guidelines to teach all subjects, recognizes that in the school system there is a difficulty when dealing with CPCCT:

Historically, there has been a difficulty dealing with the theme of race/ethnicity. Within schools there is frequently evidence of racism and social and ethnic discrimination on the part of teachers, students and school staff, even though it might not be done deliberately or consciously.

(Brasil, 1998b: 122, my translation)

The document also suggests that teachers should be prepared to teach the theme of CPCCT:

This proposal brings with it the basic necessity that teachers are instructed about the theme of cultural plurality. This specific requirement in teachers' education is a fundamental part of citizenship. It is an important investment and it requires a political-pedagogical commitment in any educational/school planning of professional development of teachers.

(Brasil, 1998b: 123, my translation)

As was discussed earlier in this chapter, the PCN was written by specialists in the area of curriculum, but predominantly in a top-down manner that devolved the responsibility to teachers and schools to decide how to deal with the broad theme of CPCCT. The document suggests that:

It is both the responsibility of the teacher, in the planning, and the school, in its educational development to prioritise the contents of the educative project according to the work to be developed.

(Brasil, 1998b: 147-148 my translation)

This means that the school will choose which theme to work with. However, how will teachers and the school itself be able to choose a certain theme from several alternatives if teachers do not have any preparation to teach such themes? In my view, one of the main limitations of the document that

addresses CPCCT to be taught as a cross-curriculum theme, is that it is too comprehensive, and that it does not give more specific guidelines about how to implement it at the school level.

According to research conducted by Connolly (1998), Epstein (1993), Gillborn (1995), Osler et al. (2000) and Troyna et al. (1991), the involvement of school staff, students and the community is essential if the theme of 'race'/ethnicity is to be discussed in the school environment to work towards anti-racist education that promotes equality. The community is referred to in the document several times but in the following way:

Daily life provides many opportunities that allow work on plurality. The everyday occurrences of a community or communities based around a school, questions that are typically raised in adolescence and youth, newspapers, radio and television, programmes and supplements aimed at that specific age group, local parties. In addition, the exchange between schools from different regions in Brazil and between different cities from the same state, and consultation with community groups and the press within the same community are valuable pedagogical tools in the development of children and adolescents.

(Brasil, 1998b: 138, my translation)

The way that the community is referred to in the document is too comprehensive and does not give an indication of how it should specifically relate to anti-racist education. How will a school be able to ensure that students are being treated equally in terms of their ethnicity? For example, there is no clear proposal in the document that schools should find ways of monitoring students' outcomes through ethnicity (discussed later, in Chapter Three). As discussed earlier (Chapter One), black people in Brazil have unequal access to school and universities in comparison to white people (just recently affirmative actions has been implemented in very few universities). In the next section I examine the PCN of foreign language (FL).

Foreign language PCN

As this research relates to the context of FL it is important to present the way that FL is presented in the PCN¹⁹. According to Brasil (1998a: 19), under the LDB (1996, Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional)²⁰, FL must be one of the core subjects to integrated into the elementary school curriculum. The FL is to be chosen by the local community (Brasil, 1998a: 37). The option of offering the community the choice of language according to their needs is considered a step forward because there are some areas in Brazil where it is more sensible to learn Spanish than English. For instance, some cities are on the borders of other Spanish-speaking, South American countries (Brasil, 1998a). The importance of learning a FL is emphasised in the PCN in the following way:

The learning of FL helps the educational process as a whole and goes much further than the acquisition of a group of language skills. It takes the new perception of the nature of language, improves the comprehension of how language works and develops better awareness of how the mother tongue works. At the same time, it provides an appreciation of habits and values of other cultures, and helps to develop the perception of their own culture through the understanding of other foreign culture(s).

(Brasil 1998a: 37 my translation)

In the case of Brazil, the FL chosen in the majority of elementary and high schools is English (Bastos, 1996: 31). In Pennycook's (1994a: 13) opinion, the effects of the spread of English can threaten other languages: "It has become the language of power and prestige in many countries, thus acting as a crucial gatekeeper to social and economic progress" (see also Canagarajah, 1999; Pennycook, 1994b; Phillipson, 1992). For instance, Oliveira e Paiva (2000a) writing about the Brazilian context, claim that speaking words in English and wearing T-shirts with written words in English enable the upper class to differentiate themselves from the lower classes. In this way, English seems to be used as a status symbol (p. 329). The next section deals with the relationship between the PCN of FL and CPCCT.

¹⁹ The PCN document for the subject of FL is 119 pages long and the issues it covers are quite extensive.

Cultural Plurality as a cross-curricular theme within in the PCN of FL

All PCN themes are supposed to be taught as cross-curricular themes, although 'CPCCT' is the theme that receives the most emphasis within the FL (foreign language) curriculum where it is given a three-page text. The other themes are not discussed as specifically as CPCCT. The reason given for the emphasis is:

The cross-curricular theme of Cultural Plurality deserves special treatment due to the fact that FL teaching gives great support to this question.

(Brasil, 1998a: 48, my translation)

The document also states that:

This theme can be focused on with the aim of demystifying the homogenous understanding of specific cultures that involve typical generalisations in FL classrooms, for instance, that the English or the French are 'this or that way'.

(Brasil, 1998a: 48, my translation)

Kincheloe & Steinberg (1997: 231) claim that many schools merely use some designated days to celebrate 'ethnic' meals, for example, and the schools consider that to be an adequate way to teach diversity. Equally, such misconceptions are also reported in Bullivant's work (1981: 236 quoted by Troyna 1992: 69). In his empirical study in six countries in the 1970s, Bullivant found three key assumptions underpinning multicultural education: a) that educational achievement can be raised by learning about children's cultural and ethnic 'roots'; b) that improvement of equality of opportunity can be achieved by learning about children's culture and its tradition; c) that prejudice and discrimination can be reduced if children and adults are taught about cultural aspects from those different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. The arguments of Kincheloe & Steinberg, and Bullivant, stated above, show that teaching CPCCT in education means going beyond teaching about some

²⁰ The law that regulates the educational system in Brazil.

specific aspects of culture and ethnic folk traditions. In the next section I will consider how the PCN of FL addresses the issue of 'race'/ethnicity.

'Race'/ethnicity in the PCN of FL

The PCN addresses some aspects that might be discussed in the FL classroom as stated below:

Brazilian cultural plurality (native Brazilian Indian people, blacks, whites, Catholics, followers of religious cults of African origin, Jews, people who dance samba, followers of reggae etc.) can be brought into the discussion that attempts to end stereotypical views of what it is like to be Brazilian. In a country of cultural plurality such as Brazil, it is pernicious to work in the classroom with a view that excludes a great part of the Brazilian population from the representations that children are provided with in the pedagogic discourse (also including representation in didactic material). These representations are typically white, catholic, living in 'sul-maravilha'²¹, middle class, speaking the hegemonic variety of language, etc.

(Brasil, 1998a: 48 my translation)

What is stated in this excerpt is crucial to what my research proposes, that is how the EFL teacher addresses CPCCT in education. The statement indicates the kind of work that could be done in classroom settings related to CPCCT 'race'/ethnicity as seen in the PCN of FL. The PCN also contains another extract that suggests how texts for class could be chosen:

Of course it will be also useful to compare these texts with others of the same nature (thematically and stylistically), published in a Brazilian newspaper, for instance. This work of an intercultural nature can show how political organisation in the struggle for emancipation of ethnic minorities has been built in other countries and in Brazil.

(Brasil, 1998a: 46 my translation)

²¹ Sul maravilha, literally "the marvellous south". In the south of Brazil people generally have a better quality of life compared with other regions.

This is the way that FL learning touches on CPCCT as related to 'race'/ethnicity in the PCN of FL. In Osler & Starkey's (2000) opinion: "Any course, including a foreign language course, that seeks to develop learning for democracy needs to address racism as a barrier to full participation, to consider the position of minority and majority populations within society, and allow students to explore issues of identity" (p. 208). The authors state that the subject of FL also has a responsibility to discuss aspects related to 'race'/ethnicity, and teachers should not just work with the view of promoting teaching/learning about the cultural aspects of the foreign language that is being taught. The PCN as stated by Brasil (1998a: 39) also sees FL as an opportunity to develop the concept used by Freire (1996) as a 'força libertadora'²². In this way, people assume the role of using the language actively instead of being simply passive consumers (Brasil 1998a: 40).

Scholars in Brazil who have been discussing CPCCT and the PCN claim that although the PCN represents a step forward, its impact is hardly felt in schools because teachers have not had sufficient opportunity to understand the document (Candau, 2002b; Canen 2000, 2001, 2003, Cavalleiro, 2001, 2002; Moreira, 2001a, 2001b; Souza E., 2001; Pinto, 2002). Thus, it is essential to provide teachers with far greater preparation to teach the subject. Another aspect to be included in this discussion is that CPCCT, as with the other themes, is seen as cross-curricular theme. That means that CPCCT could be interpreted and implemented in the school curriculum according to the interest of teachers and/or the school rather than making discussions of 'race'/ethnicity compulsory. Power (1996), claimed that in order to implement cross-curricular themes it is necessary to take "on board both professional and political dimensions of the school curriculum (...) any alternative educational strategies are doomed to fail" (p: 3). In other words, a broader discussion should occur in the school environment.

On the one hand, implementation requires discussion in schools with the support of the director, supervisors, educational advisers, teachers, and the community. On the other hand, the reality in which schools currently operate

²² 'Força libertadora', empowerment.

is rather difficult, because insufficient time is devoted to discussions about curriculum implementation. In the next section I examine the understanding of CPCCT in the educational context in Brazil.

Cultural plurality as a cross-curricular theme: the educational context in Brazil

Cultural plurality as a cross-curricular theme (CPCCT) has been extensively discussed in Brazil since the National Curriculum Parameters (PCN) began to be implemented in 1998. This section will discuss how CPCCT is being addressed after the curriculum began to be implemented in schools. The majority of scholars who have been discussing this topic are those who have a background in the broad field of education (sociology, curriculum etc.) rather than in the field of EFL. These researchers are engaged in discussing issues such as multicultural education, critical intercultural education, intercultural education, and cultural ethnic diversity. This means that the discussion is raised as an issue taking as a parameter the CPCCT document. Researchers are relating their discussion to: teaching practices, initial teacher education (ITE) courses, curriculum, textbooks, and students' experiences.

To develop my first argument, that issues about CPCCT related to 'race'/ethnicity are more likely to be discussed in the broader field of education (sociology, curriculum and didactics) rather than in specific subjects, such as EFL, I will take as an indicator articles from Brazilian journals that were recently published in the field of education and EFL, and also some recent books on the subject. The journals chosen are well known and recognized by researchers.

First, I will analyse the literature produced by scholars in the broad field of education²³, and second, in the specific field of EFL²⁴. As issues of CPCCT are very broad, the material I will analyse discusses the specific topic of CPCCT related to 'race'/ethnicity in the educational context in Brazil. I also examine only the material related to CPCCT - 'race'/ethnicity because there is a significant amount of research in the field of 'race' in Brazil. I examined the material produced using the following criteria²⁵: 1) all material produced from 1998 onwards; and 2) identify the authors who are most quoted in the articles and books (national and international authors) in the broad field of education. Several sources were selected from the field of education. I separated these articles and books into two sections: CPCCT related to 'race'/ethnicity in the broad field of education, and CPCCT related to the specific subject of FL. I also discuss the issues in research identified by the researchers (see table 3.1 Chapter Three). Finally, I analyse the abstracts from the National Meeting of University Teachers of English as a Foreign Language and Literatures (ENPULLI) held in 2003 in Brazil. The theme of the meeting was 'Interculturality in Teaching English as a Foreign Language'. The criteria I used to analyse the abstracts (symposiums, papers and mini-courses) were as follows: 1) how interculturality is being addressed; 2) the issues in research presented by the authors. The main aim of this review is to provide a wider view of how CPCCT, and more specifically 'race'/ethnicity, is being addressed.

The broader field of education: CPCCT and 'race'/ethnicity

The material selected was related to the education of children, adolescents, adults, teachers, curriculum, and textbook analysis (Candau, 2002b; Canen, 2001; Gomes, 2003a; Gonçalves & Gonçalves e Silva, 1998, 2003; Kreutz, 1999; Moehlecke, 2002; Moreira, 2002a; Oliveira et al., 2000; Pinto, 1999;

²³The articles chosen were from the following Brazilian journals: *Cadernos de Pesquisa*, *Educação & Sociedade*, *Educação e Pesquisa*, *Revista Brasileira de Educação*, *Ensaio* and *Educar* (UFPr).

²⁴*Trabalhos em Lingüística Aplicada*, *DELTA: Documentação de Estudos em Lingüística Teórica e Aplicada*, *Intercambio*; *Linguagem & Ensino*.

²⁵ I was inspired by Moreira's (2001b), study "Curriculum and multiculturalism in Brazil (1995-2000): advancement, challenges and tensions."

Rosemberg at al., 2003; Silvério, 2002). The issues raised in addressing CPCCT varied, and were linked to: multicultural education, PCN (curriculum), identity construction, cultural diversity, ethnic diversity, intercultural education, pre-service and in-service teacher education, representation, racism, textbooks, ethnicity, difference, citizenship, racial ethnic diversity, affirmative actions, and race relations. In Brazil, as in other countries, the use of terminology in the field seems to be confused. Lund (2003), researching terminology in the field of multicultural and anti-racist education in Canada, states that:

In educational scholarship in the US, many have criticized the confusion surrounding terminology in this field. (...) a remarkable diversity in labelling exists (...).

(Lund, 2003: 7)

Also, Kincheloe & Steinberg in the USA have observed that:

When individuals employ the term multiculturalism, we can reasonably guess that they are alluding to at least one of the following issues: race, socio-economic class, gender, language, culture, sexual preference or disability.

(Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997: 1)

Brazilian researchers' theoretical perspective

In this section I will provide an outline of the references used by the researchers. I studied these references because I believe that it can provide an indication of the authors' theoretical approach. I classified the bibliographical references found in the research under the headings 'international' and 'national'. The international authors that were most quoted were: Peter McLaren, James Banks, and Kincheloe & Steinberg.

Peter McLaren

Perspective of multicultural education	Literature used (reference)	Researchers who quoted the author
McLaren, Peter. (1996)	Multiculturalismo crítico. São Paulo, Cortez.	Candau, 2002a; Canen, 2000; 2001; Canen & Grant 2001; Canen & Moreira, 2001; Gonçalves & Gonçalves e Silva, 1998; Muller et al., 2002b; Oliveira et al., 2000.
McLaren, Peter. (2000)	Multiculturalismo revolucionário: pedagogia do dissenso para o novo milênio. Porto Alegre, Artes Médicas.	Candau 2002a; Muller et al., 2002d.
McLaren, Peter. (1991)	Rituais na escola: Em direção a uma economia política de símbolos e gestos na educação. Petrópolis, Vozes.	Moreira, 1999a

James Banks

Perspective of multicultural education	Literature used (reference)	Researchers who quoted the author
Banks, James. (1994)	Multiethnic education: Theory and practice. Boston, Allyn and Bacon.	Candau 2002a; Muller et al., 2002d.
Banks, James. (1999)	An introduction to multicultural education. Boston, Allyn and Bacon.	Candau, 2002a; Muller et al., 2002d.
Banks, James & Banks, Cherry. (1997)	Multicultural education: Issues and perspectives. Boston, Allyn and Bacon.	Candau, 2002a; Muller et al., 2002d.
Banks, James. (1995)	Multicultural Education: Historical Development, dimension and Practice. In J. Banks & C. Banks (ed) Handbook of research on multicultural education. New York: MacMillan: 3-24.	Gonçalves & Gonçalves e Silva, 1998.

Joe Kincheloe & Shirley Steinberg

Perspective of multicultural education	Literature used (reference)	Researchers who quoted the author
Kincheloe, Joe & Steinberg, Shirley. (1997)	Changing multiculturalism. Buckingham, Open University Press.	Canen & Moreira, 2001; Moreira, 1999a; 2001b; Moreira, 2002a.
Kincheloe, Joe & Steinberg, Shirley. (1993)	Toward a critical politics of teachers thinking: Mapping the postmodern. Westport, Connecticut, Bergin & Garvey.	Moreira, 1999a.

The international authors quoted are largely involved in research about multicultural education in the USA. The choices of international authors used in the references of the researchers in Brazil might indicate the dominance of the terminology of multicultural education. However, according to Lund (2003), "(...) the American use of the term "multicultural" automatically

implies a uniting of cultural harmony concerns with AR (anti-racist) educational goals" (p. 3). Although Lund states that the use of the term "multicultural" would imply anti-racist education goals, Ladson-Billings (1998) working with the concept of 'critical race theory' in the USA argues that:

(...) multicultural education is but a shadow of its conceptual self. Rather than engage students in provocative thinking about the contradictions of U.S. ideals and lived realities, teachers often find themselves encouraging students to sing "ethnic" songs, eat ethnic foods and do ethnic dances. Consistently, manifestations of multicultural education in the classroom are superficial and trivial "celebrations of diversity".

(Ladson-Billings, 1998: 22)

In what follows, I provide samples of the theoretical views of some Brazilian researchers that have addressed issues regarding CPCCT in relation to 'race'/ethnicity. In the broad field of education, the researchers mentioned below are quoted frequently in articles written by others researchers that discuss issues related to CPCCT, curriculum, and teacher education. This is evident in the articles and books published over the last five years in the field, if one examines the authors' quotations and references. The national authors who were most quoted were Moreira, Canen, Candau, Gonçalves & Gonçalves e Silva and Pinto. The theoretical perspectives raised by the researchers are related to, multicultural education or critical multicultural education (Gonçalves & Gonçalves & Silva, 1998, 2003, Moreira, 2001a, 2001b, 2002b, Pinto, 1999 see also Moreira, 1996, 1999a), critical intercultural education (Canen, 2000; 2001, 2003, see also Canen & Moreira, 2001; Canen & Grant, 2001; Oliveira et al. 2000) and intercultural education (Candau, 2002b, see also Candau & Anhorn, 2002).

Moreira (2001b, see also Moreira, 1999a, 1999b, 2001a, 2002a, Canen & Moreira, 2001, Moreira & Macedo, 2001) conducted a study of academic work in Brazil addressing curriculum and multiculturalism. He analysed how many articles were produced during the period 1995-2000. In this study he found that 46 articles were produced during that period addressing multicultural issues related to school and curriculum, and the different

approaches related to social class, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation and culture²⁶. For Moreira (2001b: 66), multicultural education is concerned with differences related to social class, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, culture and religion. In his view, the term multiculturalism represents a way to promote plurality of values and cultural interchange within society and between different societies. He also states that multiculturalism is a way to rescue cultural values. Moreira (2001b) claims that multiculturalism can be used as a tool to reduce prejudice, discrimination, oppression and injustice.

Canen's (2001: 212) position regarding multicultural education is associated with a critical intercultural perspective. Canen uses the term 'critical intercultural education' to define her critical position and to minimise the association with the term multicultural²⁷ (Oliveira et al. 2000: 115, see also, Canen, 2000, Canen, 2003, Canen & Grant, 2001, Canen & Moreira, 2001). Candau (2002a: 135) also prefers to adopt the term 'intercultural' education, because she considers the term to be dynamic, referring to a continuous process of construction, deconstruction and reconstruction in the social relations that are present in society (see also, Candau, 1999, 2002b).

Researchers such as Gonçalves & Gonçalves e Silva (1998, 2000, 2003), Gonçalves e Silva (1993, 1996), Pinto (1993, 1996, 1999, 2002), Gomes (1996, 2001, 2003a, see also Gomes & Gonçalves e Silva 2002) and Rosemberg et al. (2003) have been also involved in research in the field of 'race'/ethnicity. These researchers have been involved in advocating issues of multicultural education and issues of 'race' equality long before the existence of PCN and its implementation. Gonçalves & Gonçalves e Silva, and Gomes are also addressing issues of multicultural education. They have been engaged in the black movement for many years before the

²⁶ Moreira (2001b) separated the articles into themes. The themes identified were: curriculum and ethnicity, 18 articles; curriculum and diversity, 14 articles; multiculturalism and teacher education, 4 articles; curriculum and gender, 3 articles; curriculum, gender and ethnicity, 1 article; curriculum and homosexuality, 1 article; curriculum and social class, 1 article.

²⁷ For Kreutz (1999: 82-83), the concept of interculturality is also a more adequate term because for him intercultural education signifies inter-relation between cultures. He argues that multicultural education is related to a society constituted by different cultures, but that it is a static definition.

implementation of CPCCT in the PCN and consequently their commitment to discussions of CPCCT, highlights issues of 'race'/ethnicity and is also associated with participation in the black movement.

When discussing the CPCCT within the PCN, Pinto (1999), Gonçalves & Gonçalves e Silva (1998, 2000, 2003), Rosemberg et al. (2003) and Gomes (2003a) relate their arguments towards the terminology of multiculturalism, racial-ethnic diversity and cultural-ethnic diversity. According to Gonçalves & Gonçalves e Silva (2003: 110), multiculturalism is defined by social struggles, and is a game of differences. People who face discrimination and prejudice in society feel these differences. This means that to understand discrimination and prejudice it is necessary to know the social and historical context of where people live and their experiences. Gonçalves & Gonçalves e Silva (2003: 110, see also Gonçalves & Gonçalves e Silva 1998), also emphasise that the discussion related to CPCCT and curriculum that started in Brazil in 1998, made it clear that there was a need to go beyond arrangements of contents and pedagogic methods, otherwise the discussion would be limited only to specialists in the field of curriculum. Their concern is that CPCCT should be used to discuss issues specifically related to 'race'/ethnicity, otherwise these issues will never reach the classrooms.

For Pinto (1999: 200), the way that the educational system articulates racial ethnic diversity is related to philosophical and pedagogical concepts as well as political and ideological choices. Thus, multicultural education can have several meanings depending on the emphasis (see also, Pinto, 1987, 1993, 1996).

The articles and books related to CPCCT that I have examined are committed to promote equality in terms of 'race'/ethnicity within education. It was possible to observe this aspect through the way that researchers conducted their research and their focus of analysis, as well as the instruments used to gather their findings. However, my point here is that the terminology presented to teachers either through research, or as in the PCN policy document (cultural plurality as a cross curricular theme) might

influence the way that teachers understand the terminology and apply it in the classroom. In my analysis of the articles and books, the term CPCCT as addressed in the PCN was replaced by multicultural education, critical multicultural education, intercultural education, critical intercultural education, racial-ethnic diversity and cultural-ethnic diversity, and occasionally anti-racist education.

Anti-racist education in the Brazilian context

The term CPCCT, as addressed in the PCN in the discussion in the former section is not associated with the term 'anti-racist education'. However, there have been a rising number of studies using the term "anti-racism" (Bernd, 1994 [education]); Cavalleiro, 2001 [education]); d'Adesky, 2001 [media]); Guimarães, 1996 [analyzes racism in newspapers], 1999; Munanga [racism in Brazil], 1996; Silva M. P., 2003, 2004 [racial awareness]). A recently published book by Cavalleiro, (2001) "Racismo e anti-racismo na educação: repensando nossa escola" [Racism and anti-racism in education: rethinking our school] addresses the term 'anti-racism education'. All the articles discuss issues of equality in relation to black students.

Cavalleiro's (2001) article, 'Anti-racist education: indispensable commitment to a better world' [Educação anti-racista: compromisso indispensável para um mundo melhor] was based on her research into the interaction between adults and children in the school environment. She made observations for a period of eight months in 1998 in three classrooms, and also interviewed students and teachers. In her findings, it was clear that in the school environment there was a lack of presence of non-white students in books, photographs or posters on the walls in schools. She also found a lack of respect for non-white students, evidenced by name-calling and an inadequacy in teachers' responses to this behaviour. She also noticed different treatment given to non-white students compared with the way that teachers interacted with white students. Cavalleiro suggested actions to be taken in an education working towards equality, and also included in her discussion eight characteristics of an anti-racist education:

1. Recognize that there is a racial problem in Brazilian society.
2. Continually reflect about racism and its consequences in daily school life.
3. Counter any prejudice and discriminatory attitude in society and in school. Ensure that the interpersonal relationships among adults and children, and blacks and whites are respectful.
4. Do not deny diversity within the school environment: use the school environment to promote equality, encouraging the participation of all students.
5. Teach children and adolescents a critical history about the different groups that constitute Brazilian history.
6. Look for materials to contribute to extinguishing "eurocentrism" from the school curriculum and contemplate racial diversity, as well as "black issues".
7. Think of ways of educating towards a positive recognition of racial diversity.
8. Suggest actions that encourage the self-perception of students belonging to discriminated groups.

(Cavalleiro, 2001: 158, my translation)

The discussions of these characteristics are included in issues suggested to be considered in schools working towards CRT in the light of anti-racist education (table 3.2 Chapter Three). In the next section I will examine how research in the field of FL deals with issues related to CPCCT.

The field of foreign language: CPCCT and 'race'/ethnicity

In the journals and books that I examined, there were far fewer examples of literature that related to CPCCT and FL compared to the broad field of education. Some of them related FL to culture, teaching, interculturality and identity construction (Janzen, 2002). Another article relates CPCCT to identity construction, language and multilingualism (Ferreira E., 2002). However, there is now a growing source of literature in the field of applied linguistics relating 'race' to identity construction (see Moita Lopes, 2003a, 2003b, 2002; Paula, 2003). The concerns suggested by the authors were that textbooks have a grammatical approach instead of the integration of cultural aspects of students who are learning the FL, and the culture of the language that is being taught. Motta-Roth's (2002) article reflects on the relationship between multiculturalism and language. Her analysis is based on

practices of text writing, reading, and publishing of Brazilian applied linguists, in which she investigates to what extent Brazilian applied linguists see themselves as international and multicultural knowledge producers. Her findings (acquired from electronic interviews) indicated that although Brazilian applied linguists have enough knowledge to create their own body of knowledge, researchers still suffer from 'colonization' by the Anglophonic academia.

EFL teachers' meeting: ENPULLI - addressing interculturality

The aim of this section is to analyse the abstracts from the meeting of ENPULLI – 2003 (National Meeting of University Teachers of English as a Foreign Language and Literatures). The theme of the meeting was 'Interculturality and English language teaching', and several abstracts (symposiums, papers and mini-courses) addressed the issue of interculturality in EFL. The criteria used to analyse the abstracts are as follows: 1) examine how interculturality is addressed; 2) examine the issues presented by the authors (the issues are presented and analysed later in Chapter Three in table 3.1).

In the abstracts, the authors who presented their work related to EFL and Interculturality were: Bertoldo (2003), Carmagnani (2003), Cavallari (2003), Freitas (2003), Gimenez (2003), Grigoletto (2003a), Hanna (2003), Lyrio (2003), Moita Lopes (2003a), Nunes (2003), Paiva (2003), Rajagopalan (2003), and Souza (2003)²⁸. The topics addressing interculturality in EFL were related to: the process of construction of identities; in-service teacher education; citizenship; didactic textbooks; discourse analysis; globalisation; empowerment in education; critical approaches to teacher education; language (permeated by historical social marks: gender, sexuality, race, etc); students' empowerment; multiculturally competent students; FL teaching and culture and intercultural education. Moita Lopes (2003a) was the only author who related language teaching to 'race'/ethnicity (that was explicit in his

²⁸ Some authors presented more than one paper in different modalities, as the sample from the abstracts were taken from symposiums, papers and mini-courses.

abstract which used the word 'race'). His abstract stated that the integration of language is permeated by social, historical, gendered, sexed and racialized aspects.

Moita Lopes (2002) conducted research on the issue of 'Narratives as a process of construction of race social identity'. He analysed four incidents that occurred in the context of classrooms in Brazil. His research was an ethnographical account and he used the students' experiences to create a meaning for racial identity inside the classroom. For Moita Lopes (2002: 57), social identities are complex and can coexist in the same person according to gender, race, social class, sex, age, etc. But these identities may change according to the several discourse practices used by us all at different times. As a way of understanding students' views of 'race', Moita Lopes (2002), used reading exercises and students' summaries of what they had read, as an instrument to uncover students' views. These revealed attitudes of racial prejudice. In Moita Lopes' findings, the role of teachers in the classroom is crucially important when the topic of racial prejudice in Brazil is discussed, as it contributes to the construction of social identities of students. Thus, depending on the way that teachers conduct the discussion, some social identities may be more privileged than others (Moita Lopes, 2002: 79). It is possible to notice that in the field of EFL there is a lack of explicit reference to 'race'/ethnicity.

Conclusion

This chapter outlined the way that cultural plurality as a cross-curricular theme (CPCCT) is addressed both in Brazilian literature in the field of general education, and in the field of EFL. I analysed the literature recently produced in both fields. I also examined articles, books and abstracts that came out of the 2003 ENPULLI meeting. I have argued that issues of CPCCT related to 'race'/ethnicity are more widely discussed in the field of general education than in specific subjects such as EFL, which tend to be more concerned with issues of language and identity.



The reason for providing this outline is because I believe that EFL teacher education courses also have the responsibility of addressing issues that are concerned with how CPCCT relates to 'race'/ethnicity inside classrooms (see Auerbach, 1995; Block, 2003; Moita Lopes, 2002; Starkey & Osler, 2001). However, what is required above all is a CPCCT concerned with reflecting students' experiences, cultures and identities construction, rather than merely discussing issues that emphasize the culture of English native speakers (more specifically that of the USA and Britain). The discussion of CPCCT in teacher education courses is highly significant in the light of my discussions (in Chapter One), of the 'myth of racial democracy' that still exists in Brazil, and the inequality that Brazilian 'black people' experience. As I have stressed throughout this chapter, there is a huge need for more research in the field of teacher education related to specific subjects, and EFL is one of them. The next chapter will discuss the implications of the use of the term anti-racist, and discuss and address issues to be considered in schools working towards critical race theory in education, in the light of anti-racist education.

CHAPTER 3

'RACE'/ETHNICITY IN BRAZIL: TOWARDS CRITICAL RACE THEORY IN THE LIGHT OF ANTI-RACIST EDUCATION

In this chapter, first, I draw a justification for the use of the term 'anti-racist education' and the implication of the use of the term in the field of education. Second, I discuss the multicultural and intercultural issues and the need to move towards Critical Race Theory/anti-racist education. Within this section I present the issues identified by Brazilian researchers.

First, I argue that the use of terms such 'multicultural education' and 'intercultural education' is problematic as they are so broad and cover so many issues such as gender, class, religion, race, cultural studies, disability, etc., that they do not allow enough focus on the specific issue of 'race'/ethnicity.

Second, I argue that unless teachers have an adequate understanding of specific issues around 'race'/ethnicity, issues of CPCCT in schools will be inadequately addressed. For that reason I take the perspective of Critical Race Theory (CRT) because CRT views racism as endemic across society, working in multiple ways to subvert civil rights attempts. In the Brazilian context a perfect example of this is the continued existence of the 'myth of racial democracy'.

The implications of the use of the term 'anti-racism'

According to Troyna & Carrington (1990: 1, see also Gillborn 1995: 6), anti-racist education differs from multicultural education in the following way:

Anti-racist education refers to a wide range of organizational, curricular and pedagogical strategies which aim to promote racial equality and to eliminate attendant forms of discrimination and oppression, both individual and institutional. Such reforms involve a reappraisal of both the hidden and the formal curriculum. In the case of the hidden curriculum, anti-racists have called for: the recruitment of more black teachers (especially to promoted positions); more effective measures to counter cultural bias in assessment and selection procedures; initiatives to extend parental and pupil involvement in decisions about the organization and priorities of schooling; and the development of strategies and policies to deal with racist harassment.

(Troyna & Carrington 1990: 1)

Of course, the quotation above reflects the British reality in terms of understanding the difference between multicultural education and anti-racist education. Although the term 'anti-racist education' was not largely used in the examples provided in Chapter Two which referred to multicultural and intercultural education, it was clear that the authors reject a simplistic view of multicultural education associated with the promotion of diversity, for example: celebration of cultural aspects of peoples, habits, and issues such as folkloric celebration. The commitment demonstrated in the articles is for an education against prejudice and racial injustice, and in favour of equality in terms of 'race', gender and social class. Although it may not seem important which term one uses, it is likely that translating that commitment into practice means more specific concentration on anti-racism. Thus, my emphasis here is that if 'race'/ethnicity is to be discussed, the discussion should be as clear as possible, starting with the terminology to be used. Consequently, I believe that, the use of the term 'anti-racist' education is more appropriate, as I discuss in this section.

In the articles and books analysed (in Chapter Two), it appears that in Brazil, most of the influential researchers used the term 'multicultural education' and 'intercultural education' to address issues related to CPCCT, and very few used the term anti-racist education. I agree with Canen (2000), who states that the move to the term 'intercultural education', rather than 'multicultural' or 'cultural plurality' as mentioned in the PCN, is due to the fact that CPCCT is now being associated with the term 'multicultural education'. Thus,

'multicultural education' implies an approach related to the cultural celebration of knowledge, plural cultural patterns and folkloric celebration (Canen, 2000: 144). Figueroa (1991: 47) writing about the British context, also states that the terminology of "culturally plural" is criticized and "the same criticisms also apply as to 'multicultural education'. But 'plural' can have an even wider connotation than culture, and so can be even more ambiguous" (Figueroa, 1991: 47).

Concerns about the use of term 'multiculturalism' are complex and contradictory, as it is associated with multiple issues and tensions (Candau, 2002a: 152). From my analyses of the articles and books written by the researchers in the field such as Candau, 2002b; Canen, 2000, 2001; Kreutz, 1999; and Janzen (2002), and from the ENPULLI – 2003, meeting entitled "Interculturality in EFL teaching", it was notable that the term 'intercultural' and 'critical multicultural education' have been gradually replacing the term 'multicultural'. In the official document, PCN addresses the term 'cultural plurality' to be worked as a cross-curricular theme (Brasil, 1998b). However, researchers in Brazil have clearly been reluctant to use the same term as in the official document. This is due to the fact that the term CPCCT is associated with celebration of diversity.

As I have shown in Chapter Two, in the case of Brazil, the term 'anti-racist education' is only occasionally used to address intercultural or multicultural issues related to CPCCT. This raises some aspects for consideration. First, it is possible that some may consider the term 'anti-racist education' to be provocative, and this might put people off discussing the issue. Figueroa (1991: 51) discussing multicultural and anti-racist education in the UK context states that sometimes:

(...) antiracism suggests a negative and narrow approach. However, racism is a negation (of rights and respect, for instance), and a negation of a negation is positive. Antiracism means not just attaching racism, but replacing it with equality, freedom, informedness, respect, etc.

(Figueroa, 1991: 51)

Perhaps Figueroa's statement might be an indication of why the term 'anti-racist education' is not widely used in Brazil to address issues of 'race'/ethnicity. Brazil has a long history of the 'myth of racial democracy', as discussed in Chapter One, and as we have already seen, many in Brazilian society are extremely reluctant to admit that racist attitudes exist in Brazil.

There are though, dangers associated with the used of these terms. On the one hand, there might be risks if one uses the term 'anti-racist education' and it promotes a hostile reaction. On the other hand, there might also be risks if the term is not used. These risks could be that discussion of the issue is too mild and attempts to address all of the topics ('race', gender, class, religion, cultural aspects, language issues, disability, etc.) at the same time. Ladson-Billings & Tate, in the USA context, (see also Gillborn, 2002b: 54), state that:

Although both class and gender can and do intersect race, as stand-alone variables they do not explain all of the educational achievement differences apparent between whites and students of color. Indeed, there is some evidence to suggest that even when we hold constant for class, middle-class African-American students do not achieve at the same level as their white counterparts.

(Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995: 51)

Apple (1999: 9) stresses the importance of using the term 'race'. In his article 'The absent presence of race in educational reform', he claims that:

Only by noticing race can we challenge it, (...). By placing race squarely in front of us, 'we can challenge the state, the institutions of civil society, and ourselves as individuals to combat the legacy of inequality and injustice inherited from the past' and continually reproduced in the present.

(Apple, 1999: 9, quoting Omi & Winant, 1994: 159)

Gilroy's comments on this issue are also useful:

The frequent absence of any overt reference to 'race' or hierarchy is an important characteristic of the new types of racism with which we have to deal. This kind of coded language has created further strategic problems for antiracism.

(Gilroy, 1992: 53)

Research carried out by Brandt (1986), Gillborn (1995, 2000b), and Mullard (1984) in the UK, by Ladson-Billings (1998) in the USA, and by Dei (1996, 2000) in Canada, demonstrated that the use of terminology in the field of 'race' does matter. According to Brandt (1986), "the aims of anti-racist education must be, by definition, oppositional" (p: 125). Brandt (1986) also examines the use of language in the multiculturalism approach, and the anti-racism approach and he concludes that the language used in both approaches differs. For example the language used in the multicultural approach tends to include words such as, culture, awareness, equality, prejudice, misunderstanding, ignorance. The language used in the anti-racist approach tends to include words such as, racism, equal human rights, justice, structure and power. In Brandt's opinion, the solution to multiculturalism would be to provide information, cultural exchange and cultural/ethnic awareness. However the solution to the anti-racist approach would be to "dismantle, deconstruct, reconstruct" Brandt, 1986: 121 (see also Gillborn, 2000b).

It is evident that the language used in the anti-racist approach is much stronger than that used in multiculturalism. Ladson-Billings (1998) a leading researcher in the field of Critical Race Theory (CRT) in the USA context, states that: "CRT becomes an important intellectual and social tool for deconstruction, reconstruction and construction of oppressive structures and discourses, reconstruction of human agency, and construction of equitable and socially just relations of power" (p: 9). That is the reason I have adopted the framework of CRT and anti-racist education in my research because I believe that the use of certain words in the field of 'race'/ethnicity conveys power. Ladson-Billings (1998) emphasizes that if we are serious about proposing changes in the field of race and education it is necessary "to expose racism in education *and* propose radical solutions for addressing it" (p: 22, her emphasis).

It seems that there is an issue surrounding the use of the word 'racism' because throughout my investigation of the use of the language in the articles examined in Chapter Two it was clear that some researchers used words such as, prejudice, discrimination (as dominant language), and other words such as, cultural diversity, cultural awareness, cultural commitment, difference, cultural difference, intercultural. The use of stronger language such as, racism, power, oppressed, oppression, institutional racism, and racial exploitation was not largely used in the articles and books that addressed the issue of cultural plurality as a cross-curricular theme (CPCCT). The same aspect was noticeable in the national curriculum parameters (PCN). In my view, the use of the terms that one chooses indicates the position to be taken in relation to racism within the school environment. According to Giddens (1989), "prejudice refers to opinions or attitudes held by one group about another (...). Prejudice involves holding preconceived views about an individual or group" (p: 247). Giddens (1989) states that: "Discrimination refers to activities which serve to disqualify the members of one grouping from opportunities open to others" (p: 247). In other words, discrimination is the "actual behaviour towards them" (p: 247).

However, if we consider Gillborn's view of racism it is much stronger than simply prejudice or discrimination:

(...) 'prejudice' and 'discrimination' are defined in terms of a reaction to *difference* while racism, as a persistent feature that reflects and recreates the unequal distribution of *power* in society, is conspicuously absent.

(Gillborn, 1995: 136 his emphasis)

The concept of the word 'racism' would be much more powerful if considered from Gillborn's perspective. The word racism would then have other implications other than just prejudice or discrimination. It is the power that racism has of excluding people that is significant, including institutional racism.

The significance of the concepts discussed in this chapter is crucial to my own understanding. If the issue of 'race'/ethnicity is to be discussed, then that discussion must by definition include an analysis of 'race'. It is essential that any terms that are chosen by writers on this subject must be clearly identified and clarified to ensure what they are discussing. I agree that the issue of 'race'/ethnicity is very sensitive, as discussed earlier, but a stronger position should be taken in terms of choosing appropriate terminology to discuss 'race'/ethnicity and anti-racist education. My choice in relation to terminology is related to my argument in this chapter that unless teachers have an adequate understanding of specific issues around 'race'/ethnicity, issues of CPCCT in schools will not be adequately addressed. It would be more effective for example to take into consideration Apple's (1999: 9) comment that, "only by noticing race can we challenge it ..."

Multicultural and intercultural education issues: the need to move towards Critical Race Theory (anti-racist education)

Brazil should participate in a movement for the creation of a global critical race consciousness.

(Ladson-Billings quoted by Gandin et al., 2002: 276).

The quote above expresses Ladson-Billings' view of Brazil in an interview given to Gandin et al. (2002). Ladson-Billings considers that there is a need to probe deeper into aspects that might shed light on the problems related to inequality, racism and prejudice that black people face in Brazilian society (Gandin et al., 2002).

In this section I will present the issues raised by the researchers in the broad field of education, and also in the field of EFL. The issues in table 3.1 below have been identified by researchers in Brazil and highlight the current omissions in teachers' education courses as well as in research. It is not my intention in this thesis to discuss all the issues raised in table 3.1 but simply to make clear what are the main concerns in the broad field of education and EFL. First, I will use a table to illustrate the issues identified by researchers who addressed the subjects of multicultural and intercultural education. I will categorise the issues into organizational, curricular and pedagogical strategies (adapted from Troyna & Carrington, 1990). Second, I will construct a table that proposes issues suggested to be considered in schools working towards CRT in the light of anti-racist education (table 3.2), with the same headings (organizational, curricular or pedagogical strategy).

Issues identified by Brazilian researchers: multicultural and intercultural education

Some of the issues identified by researchers are shown in table 3.1 below:

Table 3.1 Issues identified by researchers in the broad field of education and in the field of EFL in Brazil addressing multicultural and intercultural education.

Organizational strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The need to articulate teachers' reality, problems, and teachers' involvement in their working environment; • The need for more research about critical reflection on curricular discourses related to ethnicity and multiculturalism; • The need to work on multicultural education in the school from a critical approach; • Ways of providing more places in universities for black students; • The need to engage EFL professionals in interculturalism related to linguistics. • The need to implement in EFL teaching courses a resistance to reproduction (imperialist role of EFL).
Curricular strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of interest by teachers of most subjects in discussing issues related to multiculturalism in the classroom; • Multiculturalism is not perceived as an issue to be addressed in the teachers' education courses, pre-service and in-service courses; • The need to understand how teacher education courses provide students with the opportunity to reflect about ethnic-racial differences in general; • The need for teacher educational courses to go beyond teaching content; • EFL undergraduate teacher education courses usually ignore the discussion of teachers' identity in favour of pedagogic subjects.
Pedagogical strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The need to expose the 'myth of racial democracy' that exists in Brazil; • The need to have interdisciplinary work; • The importance of motivating students to understand how they are educated and the possibility of improving students' intercultural perspective; • The need to discuss the lack of didactic material (textbooks) on the issue of multiculturalism. • The difficulty that teachers and universities have in discussing pedagogical issues from a multicultural perspective; • The need to develop a more critical approach to EFL teaching.

In general, the issues enumerated above were mainly concerned with teacher education courses. This is due to the fact that researchers have been discussing the inclusion of issues of CPCCT in initial teacher education (ITE) courses. In the case of EFL teachers, it is possible to note that they are not very involved in research addressing issues related to CPCCT 'race'/ethnicity. I would say that one of the most important reasons for this is that EFL teaching courses do not discuss aspects of identity construction and 'race'/ethnicity in relation to teachers' own cultural experiences (see Gimenez, 2003; Moita Lopes, 2002) EFL education courses are still very

much content-guided, and the way that the curriculum is constructed does not reflect the needs that future teachers will encounter in the reality of teaching in schools (see Auerbach, 1995; Pennycook, 2001). The curriculum in EFL teaching courses and in other specific subjects, is not being discussed in an interdisciplinary manner, or as an important issue, but is simply discussed as a content course (Gimenez, 2003; Gonçalves & Gonçalves e Silva, 2003; Moreira, 2001a, 2001b; Pinto, 1999; Rosemberg et al., 2003). This means that pre-service and in-service teachers fail to relate what they are learning in one specific subject, to the reality that they will face when they are in the classroom with their students, as previous research has indicated (Auerbach, 1995; Cox, 1999; Freitas et al. 2002; Gimenez, 1994; Grigoletto, 2003b; Moita Lopes, 1996, 2002, 2003b; Oliveira, 2002; Oliveira, 2003; Rajagopalan 1999; Vieira Abrahão 2000; and many others).

Starkey & Osler (2001: 328) agree that an interdisciplinary approach to language learning can contribute to an anti-racist perspective. They recently carried out a study in the UK entitled 'Language learning and anti-racism: some pedagogical challenges'. This study draws attention to the extent that "materials and the tasks help learners engage with issues of racism, anti-racism and human rights" (Starkey & Osler, 2001: 313). The context of their research was the Open University French course, for adult speakers of English (Starkey & Osler, 2001: 313). In their findings, they conclude that issues of race and racism do not appear in the textbook materials used by these students. On the contrary, the textbook materials they studied, and activities carried out by students, tend to reinforce stereotypical views. Starkey & Osler (2001) significantly claim that "course writers on language courses tend to be specialists in language teaching" (p. 327) which implies that subject objectives may dominate wider perspectives.

Starkey & Osler (2001) conclude by providing some suggestions for course book writers of foreign languages. They suggest that course book writers should introduce themes such as human rights, and acknowledge racism as a complex and evolving phenomenon. They should also refer to the conflicts and struggles of ethnic minority voices, rather than simply demonstrating the

successful integration of such minorities into society. They also propose that writers should work with, and seek advice from, specialists in sociology, human rights, race equality and the pedagogy of anti-racism (Starkey & Osler 2001: 328). Their advice is to emphasize that teaching anti-racism is not just a matter of having the appropriate materials, but is a synthesis of materials, teaching method, and also the appropriate pedagogy. In other words, the importance of the textbook and didactic material in FL teaching is primordial because these are the means by which teachers teach their students.

It is therefore, possible to conclude that although there are some scholars currently discussing 'interculturality' in the field of FL, they are in the minority. This is crucial because the discussion and the research on this issue is merely individual, according to the researchers' own interest and does not reflect an institutional interest in the issue.

Addressing Critical Race Theory in Education in the light of anti-racist education

In the previous section, table 3.1 presented several issues raised by researchers in relation to multicultural and intercultural education in Brazil. In this section, I will first introduce Critical Race Theory (CRT) the framework that I will use in this study to examine the data I have collected. I will then introduce some ideas of anti-racist education and CRT that also will guide my data analysis (see table 3.2 below). As I will be analysing my data using the framework of CRT, much of its concepts will be introduced as the data is examined in Chapters Four, Five, Six, Seven, Eight and Nine.

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is a perspective that has been used recently in the educational field, mostly in the context of the USA, to examine experiences of African-American students. According to Delgado & Stefancic (2000), "Critical Race Theory sprang up in the mid-1970s with the early work of Derrick Bell (an African American) and Alan Freeman (a white) both of whom were deeply distressed over the slow pace of racial reform in the US" (p. xvi). CRT is seen as a response to the failure of Critical Legal Studies

(CLS). Although CRT has been used mainly in the field of legal research, Ladson-Billings & Tate (1995) are acknowledged for introducing CRT into the field of education. Some of the elements that form the basic model for CRT are:

- CRT sees “racism as endemic” in society (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995: 55);
- CRT also challenges claims of “neutrality, objectivity, color-blindness, and meritocracy” (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995: 56);
- CRT challenges racial oppression and the status quo, and sometimes takes the form of ‘storytelling’ in which writers analyse the “myths, pre-suppositions, and received wisdoms that make up the common culture about race and that invariably render blacks and other minorities one-down” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000: xvii);
- “CRT can be a powerful explanatory tool for the sustained inequity that people of color experience” and the areas of “curriculum, instruction, assessment, school funding, and desegregation” can be used as “exemplars of the relationship that can exist between CRT and education” (Ladson-Billings, 1998: 18).

Since the introduction of critical race theoretical approaches to education by Ladson-Billings & Tate (1995, see also Ladson-Billings, 1998; 1999; Tate, 1997), many researchers have been applying this approach within educational research as a theoretical and analytical framework (Bell, 2003; López, 2003; Lynn, 1999; Mark & Pennington, 2003; Morris, 2001; Parker, 1998; Parker & Stovall, 2004; Smith-Maddox & Solórzano, 2002; Solórzano, 1998; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Taylor, 2000; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999).

I present table 3.2 below as an attempt to address the issue of anti-racist education and CRT. The inspiration for this table was mainly the work of Cavalleiro, 2001, Epstein (1993), Gillborn (1995), Ladson-Billings (1998), Ladson-Billings & Tate (1995), Osler et al. (2000, also Osler & Morrison, 2002), and Troyna et al. (1991).

Table 3.2 Issues suggested to be considered in schools working towards CRT in the light of anti-racist education.

Organizational strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Find ways to engage the whole school community in the development of antiracist practice (Gillborn 1995: 109; see also Connolly, 1998: 192); • Discussion of policy-making and micro-politics (Gillborn 1995: 109); • Organize in-service education courses, making explicit statements about school policy and challenging colleagues whose work failed to meet their expectations (Gillborn 1995: 110); • Encourage reflexive work but not in an intimidating way (Gillborn, 1995: 114, see also Cavalleiro, 2001: 158); • Have the support of head teacher and senior management team in establishing a programme of activities that over a sustained period, establish antiracism as a key part of the school's agenda (Gillborn, 1995: 115); • Make students and parents aware that in suburban areas students receive less in terms of material and support (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995: 54-55). • Find ways of monitoring students' outcomes through ethnicity (Osler & Morrison, 2002: 331); • Ensure that LEAs are provided with appropriate resources to follow up and support schools (Osler et al., 2000: 154).
Curricular strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Involve the views and actions of staff as well as students (Gillborn, 1995: 114); • Teach children and adolescents a critical history (Cavalleiro, 2001: 158); • Find ways to engage the whole school community in the development of a curriculum addressing antiracist practice (Gillborn, 1995: 109); • Develop material that gives space to teachers to adapt to students' reality (Troyna et al., 1991: 54); • Involve all subjects in the discussion about anti-racist education (Gillborn, 1995: 132); • Explore the limitations of race-neutral or colour blind perspective (Ladson-Billings, 1998: 18).
Pedagogical strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discussions in the classroom about antiracist practices to be adopted by students; • Open discussion with students about name-calling and bullying related to 'race'/ethnicity (Troyna et al., 1991: 54); • Open discussion to share students' views and feelings (Epstein, 1993: 146); • Organization of some material prepared by students to discuss the issue of 'race'/ethnicity (Troyna et al, 1991: 54). • Use the strategies of storytelling to empower black students (Ladson-Billings, 1998: 13; see also Delgado, 2000a: 60).

My intention in producing table 3.2 is to show how using CRT goes beyond the limits of table 3.1, at the micro school level. Changing the focus from multicultural education and intercultural education to CRT and anti-racist education requires us to understand the limits of multicultural and

intercultural education. It also draws attention to their failure to adequately address explicitly the issue of 'race'/ethnicity. The limits of multicultural and intercultural education in table 3.1 are that the actions/strategies are too comprehensive and are concentrated mainly on teacher education courses and teachers' continuing professional development. However, what is of great importance is observing teachers at work in the classroom because that is the place where policies are implemented. It is also where interactions occur between student-student and teacher-student. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 have some similarities in terms of organizational strategies and both tables address issues of teacher courses. Both tables also cover a pedagogical strategy in terms of material development, but table 3.2 suggests the participation of students in the material production.

In terms of strategies, those suggested in table 3.2 are more concerned with actions to be taken at the micro-school level. Moreira (2001b: 70) suggested that there is a need to more research in this area in Brazil. An investigation at the micro-school level is important because it is where the relations between student-teacher and student-student really occur. A systematic investigation of how to implement strategies to improve the outcomes for black students was carried out by researchers such as: Epstein (1993), Gillborn (1995), Osler et al. (2000), and Troyna et al. (1991). In their findings, several actions were suggested for the implementation of anti-racist education. For instance, having strategies to monitor students' outcomes by ethnicity and carrying out a long-term ethnographic research in the school with all members of the school environment and the community (see Bonnet & Carrington, 2000; Cribb & Gewirtz, 2003; Dei, 1996; Osler & Morrison, 2002). The suggestions of the researchers above (table 3.2) were taken at several levels. For instance, Gillborn (1995) in his book 'Racism and antiracism in real schools' reported his investigation of the implementation of antiracism work in schools. He observed the school as a whole, and in his findings he emphasizes that "If antiracism is to be anything more than rhetoric, the involvement of subject departments is crucial" (Gillborn, 1995: 129). This is of great importance because what is written in the policy documents will be implemented in 'real' schools, and the implementation can

be observed at the classroom level, which involves all staff members. Another example is provided by Osler & Morrison (2002: 331), in their article 'Can Race Equality be Inspected?' in which they examined the way that schools in England monitor and promote race equality. In their investigation they examined the following:

- School characteristics;
- Pupil attainment and progress;
- Pupil attitudes, behaviour and personal development;
- Curriculum and assessment;
- Pupils' social, cultural, moral, and spiritual development;
- Support, guidance, and pupil's welfare;
- Partnerships with parents and community; and
- Leadership and management, including staffing, accommodation, and deployment of resources.

(Osler & Morrison, 2002: 331)

In relation to monitoring, Cribb & Gewirtz state that:

From the perspective of distributive justice, ethnic monitoring can be viewed as having a vital role to play in providing the information needed to combat discrimination on the basis of 'race'.

(Cribb & Gewirtz, 2003: 20)

By providing the examples above, I want to make the point that if an anti-racist strategy is to be adopted in Brazil serious investigation should be carried out at the micro-school level. If issues related to 'race'/ethnicity are to be properly addressed, attention should be given to improving the inequalities experienced by black students, and ethnic monitoring might be one option. Bonnett & Carrington (2000), in their study about ethnic classification, concluded that "ethnic monitoring was a problematic necessity" (p: 497). However, I am aware that in Brazil the discussion of CPCCT in schools started in 1998, with a very comprehensive document as discussed in Chapter Two. Thus, the interpretation of the document, might entail a long period of discussion at school level because the discussion of the issue of 'race'/ethnicity – CPCCT is not compulsory, but only a suggestion, among many other themes. This means that apart from the CPCCT theme there are five other themes (ethics, health, environmental issues, sexual education, and labour) to be taught as cross-curricular themes. Consequently, each

school will have a hard task in choosing the themes to be taught. Ball states that:

Solutions to the problems posed by policy texts will be localized and should be expected to display ad hocery and messiness. Responses must be 'creative'; but I used the term carefully here and in a specific sense. Given constraints, circumstances and practicalities, the translation of the crude, abstract simplicities of policy texts into interactive and sustainable practices of some sort involves productive thought, invention and adaptation.

(Ball, 1994: 18-19)

As Ball explains, the way that the policy documents are displayed shows that, teachers and other school staff therefore have a pivotal role in the implementation of anti-racist strategies. What I would like to stress at this point is that the policy document that suggests guidelines to teach CPCCT is far too comprehensive, and choosing what aspect to teach in school can be a difficult task if teachers are not adequately prepared. In addition, if schools do not have an internal policy, that might also cause difficulties. However, the UK examples given above, that have a long-term discussion of the issue of 'race'/ethnicity, show that it is possible to implement strategies that envisage an education for equality in terms of 'race'/ethnicity. Ball states that:

Policies do not normally tell you what to do, they create circumstances in which the range of options available in deciding what to do are narrowed or changed, or particular goals or outcomes are set. A response must still be put together, constructed in context, offset against other expectations. All of this involves creative social action, not robotic reactivity. Thus, the enactment of texts relies on things like commitment, understanding, capability, resources, practical limitations, cooperation and (importantly) intertextual compatibility.

(Ball, 1994: 19)

Ball raises important aspects related to policy implementation, which is a complex and difficult task, because it involves the whole school. In this respect I believe it is important to understand teachers' understanding of CPCCT because it is their understanding that will make actions towards an anti-racist education possible within the school context. Although this thesis will not address all the issues covered in table 3.1 and 3.2, my intention was

to highlight some of the possible strategies for implementing an anti-racist education at a micro-school level.

Conclusion

In this chapter I first delineated the implications of the used of the terms such as anti-racist and critical race theory to my research. The implications for the choice of CRT and anti-racist education are related the use of the language and this implies using stronger terms. Second, I examined the identified issues presented by Brazilian researchers who adopted the terms of 'multicultural education' and 'intercultural education'. Third, I suggested issues to be considered in schools working towards critical race theory in education in the light of anti-racist education. Some of these issues have informed the workshop I developed and researched for this thesis.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

This chapter introduces the methodological principles that guided the design of data gathering methods and analytical procedures used in this research. My study of teachers addressing the issue of 'race'/ethnicity was carried out in the context of EFL teaching in the south of Brazil. This study draws on multiple levels of data including: questionnaire, interviews, and the observation of the materials developed by teachers in a workshop. As outlined in the introduction, the research was designed to address the following research questions:

How do EFL teachers understand and address issues of cultural plurality as a cross-curricular theme in education?

Where does this understanding come from (e.g. their own ethnicity, their educational experiences, professional development)?

How do their understandings change as a result of staff development?

What are the implications for the development of their professional practice and ultimately, racial and ethnic equality?

In addition, this chapter provides a justification for, and a description of, the methods selected for gathering the data and the phases followed to carry out the research. The instruments used are attached as appendices.

Chosen methodology

This research is essentially a qualitative study because one of my main interests is to examine the way that EFL (English as a Foreign Language) teachers in Brazil understand and address the issue of 'race'/ethnicity. I also

hope to be able to show how teachers' thinking on this issue develops. Consequently, I am not interested in the results in terms of quantity, but more in how in-service teachers work in their natural settings. Although my research can be considered to be broadly qualitative, I also collected a small amount of quantitative data through a semi-structured questionnaire survey (explained in detail in the questionnaire section in this chapter – see Chapters Five and Six for the data analysis).

Qualitative research

There is a large amount of research literature on qualitative methodology and methods (Brown & Dowling, 1998; Cohen et al., 2000; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Hammersley, 1993a, 1993b). In my research I used a largely qualitative methodology, as an interpretative, naturalistic approach to the subject matter. This means studying events in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. In other words, qualitative research involves, as stated by Denzin & Lincoln (1998a), "the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials" (p. 3, see also Denzin & Lincoln, 1998b). In my research I collected sources of data from teachers during the time that they were producing learning material in a series of linked workshops. I was leading the process of material production.

Denzin & Lincoln (1998a) argue that qualitative research implies an emphasis on process and meanings that are not rigorously examined, nor measured, in terms of quantity, amount, intensity or frequency. In my opinion, qualitative research stresses the 'socially constructed' nature of reality (and 'race' is a socially constructed concept *par excellence*), the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry. Qualitative research seeks answers to questions that stress how social experience is created and given meaning.

The study of EFL teachers

This research is framed as a 'study' of EFL teachers. Within the context of this specific research, the use of the term 'study' is probably best interpreted as simply a way of describing one's sampling procedures (Brown & Dowling, 1998). It is also a way to investigate the single instance of a bounded system, for instance teachers, schools, children, and classes. It is in this manner possible to have a unique example of 'real' people in 'real' situations. In this research the bounded system consists of state schools in what I shall refer to as Green City.

This study investigates and reports the complex dynamic and unfolding interactions of events, human relationships and other factors in a unique instance. They also arise in a situation in which it is not possible for the researcher to control all events. This means that the researcher has little control on what is intended to arise during the research, which is why it is unique.

In this study there is a rich and vivid description of events, for instance, through questionnaires, interviews, workshop of material production and classroom observation. This study provides a chronological narrative of events. For example, in my research the questionnaires and interviews were collected first, and followed by the workshop and classroom observation that proceeded together.

This study focuses on individual participants or groups of participants, and seeks to understand their perceptions of events. For instance, the data were gathered with a group of teachers and the material was developed and applied in schools with six teachers, all of them in state schools. It highlights specific events that are relevant to this study.

The researcher is integrally involved in the study. For example, during the process of material production the researcher was providing teachers with

reflection readings. In addition, the researcher observed the results of the material developed, as well as the teachers' and students' behaviour at the moment of the application of the material in class.

A specific study has several claimed strengths and weaknesses. Nisbet and Watts, as quoted by Cohen et al. (2000 see also Baxter et al., 2001), state some of them. The main strengths are associated with the results, which are more easily understood by a wide audience (including non-academics). The results are also strong in 'reality'. The weaknesses are to do with the difficulty of communicating the results with proper caution, as they are not easily generalizable (except of course, where other readers/researchers see their application). It is important for the researcher to establish 'distance' from the data for instance, by using mixed methods to gather information provided from more than one source. Included in this research are interviews, questionnaires, a material production workshop and its evaluation, and classroom observations. Knitting this together is my own research log, or diary, which not only becomes a source of data in its own right, but a 'site' for reflective thought (which may draw a parallel to an element of analysis).

Data gathering context

The bulk of the research was conducted with six teachers working in state schools in Green City. Due to ethical considerations and the need for confidentiality, the names of the schools and teachers have been changed, and pseudonyms used instead. All efforts were made to ensure the anonymity of the participants so that they could express themselves freely.

Data gathering strategy

The instruments selected for data gathering are summarised as follows:

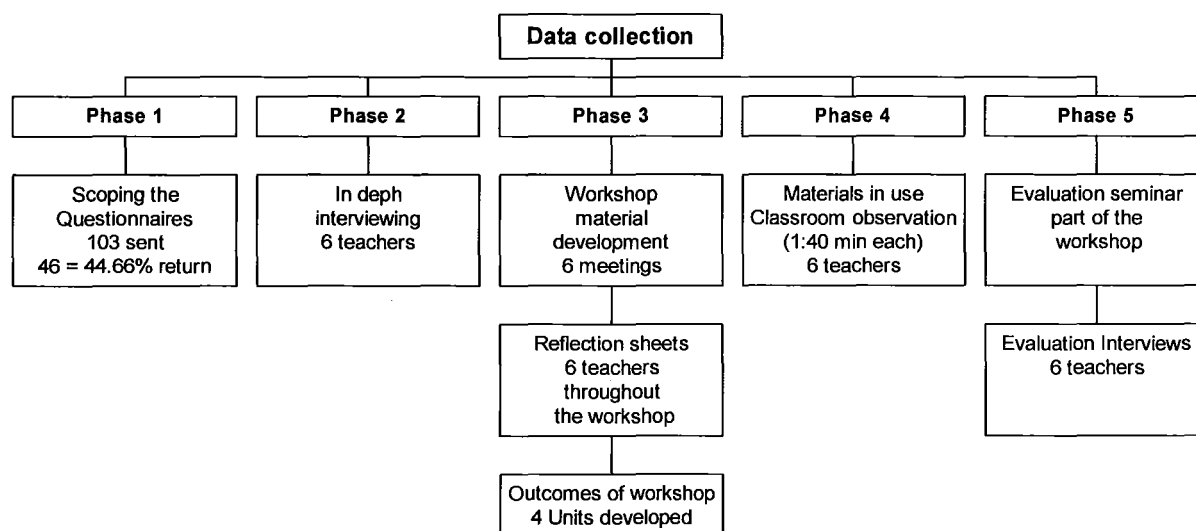
- Questionnaire survey to in-service teachers (103 teachers - the total amount of EFL teachers in Green City is 107 [four teachers were used in

the pilot study]). This number was identified by the Local Education Authority of Green City).

- Semi-structured interviews with selected teachers during the workshop and at the end during an evaluation exercise (six teachers).
- Workshop with teachers on material production (the same six teachers).
- Classroom observation of the materials in use (one per teacher - six observations).

The following table 4.1 provides a description of each method I used to collect my data. The data collection were undertaken in phases. Phases 1 and 2 related directly to teachers' perceptions of cultural plurality as a cross-curricular theme and 'race'/ethnicity in EFL teaching. Phase 3 focused on teachers as material developers and their reflection on the material in use. Phase 4 was related to the material in use in which I observed the teachers inside their classrooms. Phase 5 concerned teachers' evaluations of their perceptions and actions.

Table 4.1 Summary of data collected



Phase 1 – Scoping: the questionnaire

Questionnaires

According to Brown & Dowling (1998: 66), the questionnaire is a widely employed, and useful instrument for collecting information in research, as it is also able to provide data without the presence of the researcher.

The questionnaires were distributed to EFL teachers in elementary and high schools. The questionnaires consisted of both closed and open questions, from which I intended to gain a better understanding of the teachers for further enquiry in interview interactions.

Teacher questionnaire – main study

The questionnaire (appendix 1) which was piloted, was delivered to 40 schools where the teachers worked. The decision to deliver to the schools was taken because it was not possible to send the questionnaire by post to the teachers' homes owing to the fact that the NRE (Local Education Authority) did not have access to teachers' addresses. The choice of delivering the questionnaire to the schools was also thought to have some advantages, for instance, fast delivery. I could also be certain which teachers actually received the questionnaire.

Green City has 40 state schools including elementary and high schools, containing 107 EFL teachers.

The administration of the questionnaires was as follows:

Table 4.2 Teachers' responses to questionnaires

Contact with teachers to obtain the questionnaires	Method of delivery	Number of returned questionnaires
9 May 2002 total of questionnaires sent 103.	Sent to 40 schools in Green City.	20
24 June 2002 (First reminder)	Sent a letter to schools.	01
27 July 2002	I went to a course for EFL teachers to gather more questionnaires but I did not attend the course.	09
12 August 2002	I offered a workshop to gather more questionnaires.	10
09 September 2002	I visited 12 schools in person to obtain more questionnaires.	06
Total returned		46 = 44.66 percent

The aims of the questionnaire were:

To gather information about teachers.

To find out teachers' perceptions of CPCCT related to 'race'/ethnicity.

To invite them to participate further in my research.

From the 46 teachers who responded to the questionnaire the overwhelming majority of the in-service EFL teachers were female (39) and seven male.

I recognise that there was a relatively low response rate from the questionnaires and because of that the responses of my respondents may not be representative of the EFL teachers as a whole. It is probable that they represent those who are most committed to engaging with issues around the PCN.

My data indicate that the majority of teachers in my Green City sample of EFL teachers are between the ages of 26 to 40.

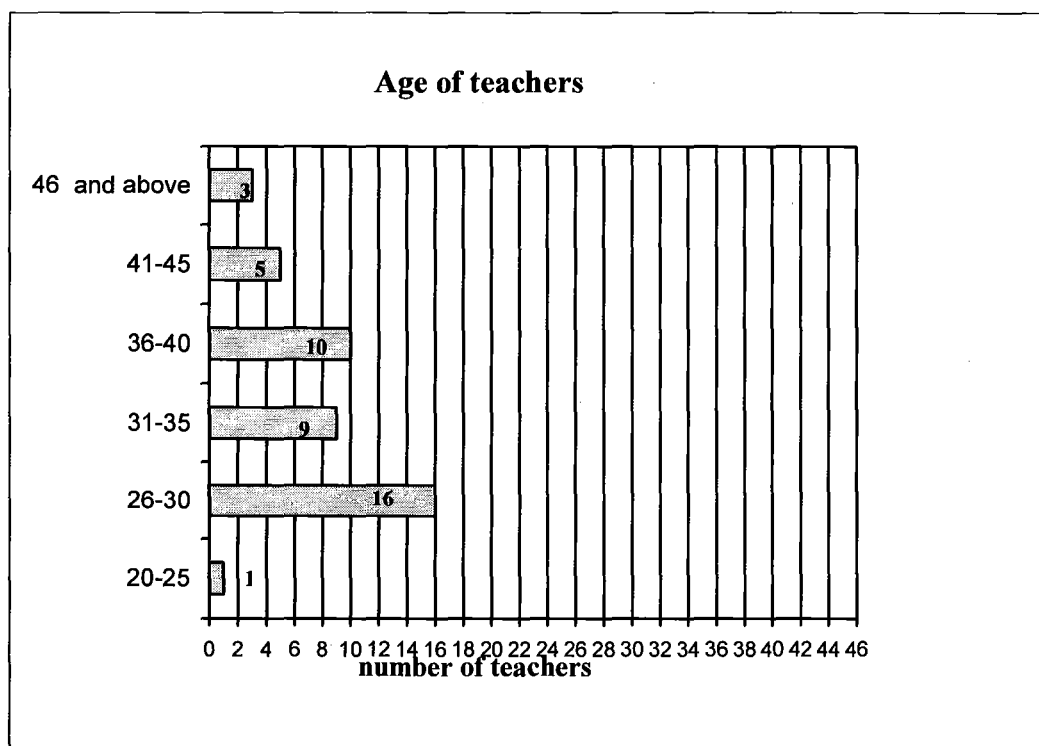


Figure 4.1 Age of teachers (two teachers did not respond)

The design principles adopted in the questionnaire were as follows:

The teachers' questionnaire consisted of two parts. Part 1 asked for general information about their teaching practice. The formulation of questions was made in respect to the research questions. Thus, questions 1 to 3 were designed to understand what kind of resources the teachers used in the classroom. Question 4 was intended to generate information on learning outcomes. Questions 5, 6, 7 and 8 were selected to gather information about how teachers work with the theme of 'race'/ethnicity, while questions 10 to 15 investigate teachers' opinions concerning 'critical pedagogy' and a critical way of teaching. Part 2, of the teachers' questionnaire asks for general personal background information (see appendix 1).

The reasoning behind the questionnaire is that the data which I analysed, using statistical analysis techniques with the computer programme SPSS,

was designed to provide a general view of teachers' opinions about the issues of the cross-curricular theme of cultural plurality, 'race'/ethnicity, and aspects of their background (ethnicity, type of degree, and professional information). I agree with Mason (1994), who discusses her experience of 'Linking qualitative and quantitative data analysis'. For Mason, qualitative (meaning) and quantitative (structure) did not reflect a division in the two stages. For her, "Instead, both stages of our study were designed to ask questions about, amongst other things, different levels of meaning" (Mason: 1994: 101). She continues:

However, we were relying on our qualitative study to tell us about *process*, and in some senses to give us the key to understanding how different levels of meaning, structure, and constraint actually fit together and work in practice in people's lives.

(Mason, 1994: 101, her emphasis)

The quote above exemplifies my approach in this research. By that, I mean that the quantitative aspects that I used helped me to provide qualitative meaning together with the others instruments used such as: interviews, classroom observation and the reflection sheets used in this research at the moment of material development.

Phase 2 – In-depth interviewing

Selection of the teachers

The selection of the teachers for more in-depth research needed to be undertaken from the teachers interested in the workshop. Initially, I sent a questionnaire, as explained above (see appendix 1), to all EFL teachers in Green City which included an invitation for teachers to participate in the workshop. Although I expected only a small number to apply (as this was unsupported financially, and participants were required to give up a number of Saturdays), 48 teachers applied. Even though I anticipated that some teachers would drop out, I needed to identify some criteria to select a more manageable number from this group. The criteria for the selection were:

- To be an English teacher working in an elementary school;
- To work in the Local Education Authority of Green City;
- To be teaching year 7 or 8 (this criteria was given because students in this stage would have had two years of contact with English language);
- To have time available to come to all the workshop meetings.

The teachers who were my main informants volunteered to participate in the workshop of material development (see schedule in appendix 8). The selected teachers in this study taught the material developed during their lessons in schools (see Chapters Seven and Eight). Twenty teachers (out of 48 teachers who applied) were able to participate in the workshop. I decided to ask them to volunteer themselves to be my main informants because I was not in a position to select any teacher above another. The number of volunteers that I intended to provide me with in-depth data were from five to eight teachers. In the event, eight teachers from six schools volunteered themselves. However, two teachers dropped out, leaving six teachers who remained my main informants up to the end. The six teachers who remained are not representative of all EFL teachers in Green City as they were very self selected and very committed. However, precisely because of this, they provide important cases to study. They illustrate clearly the issues and difficulties that teachers who are committed to exploring 'race'/ethnicity in their classrooms face. Their experiences are an important prelude to exploring strategies that can be developed for those who are less committed.

Interviews

The interviews (appendices 2 and 10) aimed to gather more detailed information from teachers of a kind that it was not possible to obtain through a questionnaire alone. According to Cohen et al. (2000: 267, see also Kvale, 1996), interviews provide participants, inform their point of view, and demonstrate their interpretations of the environment in which they live. The data gathered were from the six main informants teachers, who were the

main participants of the research. The interviews were audio-recorded, with the permission of the interviewees. The approach adopted was semi-structured. In what follows, I have provided a brief introduction about each participant in this study of Green City's EFL teachers.

Table 4.3 Teachers' portraits – main informants

Teacher's name	Gender	Ethnicity	Married or single and teachers' family roots	Age	Degree and year of graduation ITE course	Diploma course	Working experience in years	Working situation (number of schools)	Number of classes per week of 50 min.
Ame	female	white	Married to Mulatto man. Family roots Swedish.	41-45	Letras Portuguese & English ²⁹ 1979	Education	16-20	2	40
Barbara	female	white	Married to White man. Family roots Polish & German.	36-40	Letras Portuguese & English 1990	Portuguese Language	11-15	2	24
Carmen	female	black	Single. Family roots black & mulatto.	36-40	Letras Portuguese & English 1987	Portuguese language	11-15	1	40
Daniel	male	black	Married to white woman. Family roots mulatto white.	36-40	Letras Portuguese & English 1999	Linguistics	6-10	3	30
Elisa	female	black	Married to white man. Family roots white, black and mulatto.	41-45	Letras Portuguese & English 1981	Letters and Education	11-15	1	40
Fabia	female	white	Single. Family roots white.	26-30	Letras Portuguese & English 1998	English language	6-10	2	38

The teachers in my study were five women and one man. Three of them classified themselves as black, and three classified themselves as white. Their ages varied from 26 to 45.

In the teacher interviews, my main interest was to gather information about how they had been working with the cross-curricular theme of cultural plurality and their perceptions of the theme as it relates to 'race'/ethnicity. The interviews (appendix 2) were undertaken in their place of work, during their non-contact time. Each was arranged at the teacher's suggestion at the time that best suited them. Interviews varied from 20 to 30 minutes duration.

²⁹ Letras: Portuguese & English, is the title of the teachers' degree course that prepares them to teach languages and its literatures.

The interviews were undertaken at two different moments, at the beginning of the research and at the end. The initial interviews (appendix 2) were semi-structured around 11 questions, and the evaluation interviews were semi-structured and based around 7 questions (appendix 10). Although the interviews were with English as a foreign language teachers, I decided to conduct the interviews in Portuguese because I thought the interviewees would be more relaxed and express themselves better. Thus tape recordings are in Portuguese, but the transcriptions were translated into English by myself. One of the difficulties was the translation because there were certain words or expressions that I had to find an approximation so that the word could make sense in English. Discussing sensitive aspects are very culturally specific and not easy to translate.

Phase 3 – The workshop

Before explaining the workshop in detail it is useful to explain that my role in the workshop was as a facilitator. My study cannot be considered as action research because, according to Robson, (1993: 439, quoting Carr & Kemmis, 1996 p: 165) action research is:

Firstly, the improvement of a practice of some kind; secondly, the improvement of the understanding of a practice by its practitioners; and thirdly, the improvement of the situation in which the practice takes place ... Those involved in the practice being considered are to be involved in the action research process in all its aspects of planning, acting, observing and reflecting.

Robson (1993: 439, quoting Carr & Kemmis, 1996 p: 165)

The teachers who participated in my research were not involved in “all its aspects”. For example, I planned the workshop, the six meetings and what I would discuss with teachers before they started to develop their own material in each meeting. In terms of observation, the reflection was carried out with all teachers as a group. I did not reflect with teachers individually on the classes that I observed in the moment that they were teaching the issue of ‘race’/ethnicity. As I observed only one class of each teacher it was not

possible to investigate the improvement of their classes. I decided to take this position because my main focus was to observe teachers delivering the materials that they had prepared, to understand the pedagogy they used to teach the issue of 'race'/ethnicity, and to record their impressions of the way that they taught.

Workshop

This section describes the principles and procedures guiding the conduct of the material development workshop in which the six teachers mentioned above participated. The explanation below looks at the workshop with teachers in terms of: objectives, methods and outputs.

Workshop with teachers: objectives

One of the objectives of providing a workshop was to help teachers to produce materials on the issue of 'race'/ethnicity, and to provide them with an opportunity to produce the material themselves. The workshops also provided me with another opportunity to gather information. The material production was shaped to some extent according to what teachers' expectations and needs were perceived to be, and I wanted to use the opportunity to 'observe' the process at first hand. This would provide me with an insight into the teachers' thinking with regard to 'race'/ethnicity in the classroom.

I therefore had the opportunity to observe teachers producing and applying the material. Apart from that, I could also observe their contributions and the way in which they themselves related to the theme of cultural plurality - 'race'/ethnicity. Thus, I was fully a *participant* observer during this phase of the research. This carries with it certain risks as well as opportunities (Brown & Dowling, 1998: 45). For example, it could be risky because *this* researcher is a black teacher educator of EFL teachers, interested in how teachers deal with the theme of 'race'/ethnicity in their teaching process. It was also a risk

because I was observing the teachers through the lenses of a black teacher educator. Bias might also arise because teachers might behave differently in the workshop because somebody (who is black) was observing them. On the other hand, the workshop brought opportunities to observe how teachers dealt with such situations, and it also helped me to understand how teachers handled this theme. An example of that is provided by the initial interview of Carmen (a black teacher) who told me:

"I felt very good in giving this interview and I felt comfortable in telling you what I did, because if it was an white person I would not have said the same thing, because this person would not understand some of the things I told you." (Carmen, initial interview - not recorded – the tape recorder was off, this is part of my log book)

Carmen's comments are very similar to those found in Osler's study, "The education and careers of black teachers: changing identities, changing lives". Osler acknowledged that some of the black teachers she interviewed told her that it was important to them that she was black and a woman (Osler, 1997a: 65). My point here is that because I am black it made it far easier for me to have access to information from this specific black teacher. However, in relation to the white teachers, it might be that my ethnicity was an intimidating factor that perhaps did not allow them to express themselves freely (see also the Conclusion chapter).

In the workshop I also hoped to understand how teachers dealt with the situation of working with this issue inside the classroom setting, which led me to decide to engage in some classroom observations (see below). The workshop data, apart from the tangible product in terms of materials developed, was recorded using 'reflection sheets' (see appendix 6). These were used at the beginning of the meetings, at the end, and were sometimes done at home after the meeting (see appendix 7). A complete overview of the workshop can be found in appendices 4, 6, 7, 8 and 9.

Using these 'reflection sheets' was a way that I considered useful to collect information and to determine how teachers responded to the workshop. I

included in this category of data source, my own logbook that contained an on-going reflective narrative of the whole process.

Workshop with teachers – objectives – (material development)

The workshops were intended to give the teachers an opportunity to produce their own material with my help. These materials (appendix 9) would be used with students in the classroom according to the theme selected for this research. In addition, it was a way of capturing their confidence so that I could get inside the teachers' classrooms. During the process of producing the material it was possible to provide teachers with an in-service opportunity to produce their own teaching material and to focus on reflection. Fundamental questions that were considered, included what might be important to inform students about the theme of 'race'/ethnicity, and how to design strategies to engage students on these issues. Each meeting focused on a key text, the contents of which were discussed with the group of teachers (see appendix 8). Teachers also reflected about the materials already developed (see appendix 6), focusing on their experiences of using the material in a classroom setting (see appendix 9). Thus, the workshops attempted to integrate theoretical and practical considerations (see Chapter Seven for the description of the workshop and the material developed and Chapter Eight for the analysis of the classroom observation).

Preparing the workshop – practical considerations

Obtaining approval for conducting the workshop

The procedures for obtaining the approval for conducting the workshop required me to work with the NRE (Local Education Authority). This necessitated introducing the purpose of the research, and presenting the schedule of the workshop to the person in charge, and asking for an authorisation by letter (appendix 5). After receiving the approval of the NRE, the next step was to send the invitation letter and the questionnaire to the teachers asking them to participate in the workshop.

Workshop schedule

The workshop schedule was designed in such a way that I could provide the teachers with an in-service overview of what was being demanded by the National Curriculum Parameters (PCN), and also to provide the teachers with some tools to produce the material. The total duration of the workshop was 20 hours. The workshop was conducted on Saturdays between the 1st June 2002 and the 17th August 2002. The original schedule was altered slightly in order to accommodate teachers' timetable problems and other commitments at school³⁰. This was done in order to enable the in-service teachers to be awarded a certificate which they could later use for recognition purposes with their NRE (LEA) for the schedule of the material development workshop (see appendix 8).

Workshop with teachers - methods and outputs - meetings

During the time that teachers developed and applied the material they were asked to answer some reflection sheets that I provided for them (see appendices 6 and 7). The reflection sheets were answered according to the table below.

Table 4.4 Schedule of data collection from reflection sheets

Workshop material production	1 st meeting 01/06/2002	2 nd meeting 15/06/2002	3 rd meeting 22/06/2002
Reflection sheets	First 15 minutes Last 15 minutes	Last 15 minutes	Last 15 minutes Complete at home

Workshop material production	4 th meeting 29/06/2002	5 th meeting 03/08/2002	6 th meeting 17/08/2002
Reflection sheets	First 15 minutes Last 15 minutes	First 15 minutes Last 15 minutes	Evaluation seminar

³⁰ One of these problems was 'Festa Juninas' – traditional parties that schools organise in June. One of the commitments was, meetings to evaluate students: these meetings were undertaken during the week when teachers were working. Nowadays, in some schools in Green City teachers have to participate in the meetings on Saturdays.

Teachers' classrooms were also observed during this period (see appendix 11 to check timetable). The components of the workshop of material production were as follows:

Table 4.5 Workshop first meeting planning

DATE: 01/06/2002 – First meeting	
8:00 – 12:00	<p>Warm up activity in order to get to know each other.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Explanation about the workshop and its purpose. <p>Discussion about:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ PCN (National Curriculum Parameters). ➤ Cultural Plurality as a cross-curricular theme – 'race'/ethnicity. <p>Actions for next meeting:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Ask teachers to bring material to do the production. ➤ Ask teachers to bring the textbooks they use to guide their classes to be analysed. ➤ Ask teachers to read about CPCCT document (Brasil, 1998b).

The main aim of the first meeting was to introduce what we were going to be discussing and trying to achieve in the workshop. We discussed the PCN of FL and the aspects of CPCCT, and the teachers were aware that the emphasis of the discussion would be about 'race'/ethnicity in EFL.

Table 4.6 Workshop second meeting planning

DATE: 15/06/2002 – Second meeting	
8:00 – 12:00	<p>Discussion about:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Task-based learning. ➤ Problem solving. ➤ Critical teaching/thinking. ➤ Material development (The aim of the material). ➤ Analysis of textbooks used by teachers. ➤ Students' profiles. ➤ Material development (Unit 1 – see appendix 9).

In the second meeting we discussed how the shape of the material would be developed in terms of sections. Some agreement about how to work with the material was arrived at, such as that the material was mainly to reflect the issue of 'race'/ethnicity, and emphasis would be given to reading skills as suggested by the PCN (Brasil 1998a: 20). However, it was also agreed that teachers who wanted to emphasise other specific skills (such as listening, writing, speaking, grammar) would do that, according to their students' needs.

As teachers brought to the workshop their own textbooks that they used to guide their lessons, they carried out a textbook analysis. After that, teachers were separated into groups. Teachers made their own decisions about which group they would be in, and the groups were not separated by ethnicity. With the materials teachers brought (such as newspapers, magazines, articles, etc), and some that I provided as well, they decided which of the materials they would be working with (copies of each material were provided so that each group could have a copy). Teachers then chose which part of the task they would be working with. Each group was in charge of producing a task with the material provided. After teachers had developed their parts, they presented to the whole group, and it was then agreed by the whole group. At the end of the meeting I collected the material teachers had prepared, and I then did the word-processing of the material so that it would be ready for them to use with their students.

Table 4.7 Workshop third meeting planning

DATE: 22/06/2002 - Third meeting	
14:00 – 17:00	<p>Hand in the material developed to teachers.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Discuss how to work with the material. ➤ Analysis of the material developed. ➤ Discussion about problem posing. ➤ Material production (Unit 2 – see appendix 9). ➤ Time for exchange of information, materials and experiences. ➤ Classroom observation started from 25/06/2002 to the end of the workshop (see appendices 3 and 11).

At the third meeting the word-processed material was distributed to teachers so that they could use it with their students. Teachers discussed how to work with the material in their classes. Teachers also discussed about problem posing, and produced the Unit 2.

Table 4.8 Workshop fourth meeting planning

DATE: 29/06/2002 - Fourth meeting	
14:00 – 17:00	<p>Feedback about how the material worked with students.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Learning outcomes related to the resources/teaching/strategies. ➤ English use of the material. ➤ Suggestions of how to improve the material. ➤ Reflection about the theme 'race'/ethnicity (anti-racist education). ➤ Hand in the material developed. ➤ Discuss how to work with the material. ➤ Material development (Units 3 and 4, see appendix 9).

At the fourth meeting teachers started giving feedback about the material used in the classroom. There was discussion about learning outcomes that they noticed in their students. Teachers also made their comments about the English input that was given to their students. Afterwards, suggestions were made to improve the development of the materials. I provided teachers with text to reflect about 'race'/ethnicity in the EFL classroom. After that, the process of the former week was repeated and I handed the teachers the material they developed and I did the word processing. Teachers discussed the material and the way that they would apply it in class. After the discussion, the teachers again developed two units to be used in class with their students.

Table 4.9 Workshop fifth meeting planning

DATE: 03/08/2002 - Fifth meeting	
14:00 - 17:00	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Feedback about how the material worked with the students. ➤ Hand in the material developed. ➤ Discuss how to work with the material. ➤ Evaluation of the workshop (discussion). ➤ Talk about the organisation of the evaluation seminar (to be held at the next meeting).

At the fifth meeting there was feedback and discussion about the material they had used during that week. The two units teachers prepared in the former meeting were handed to them (there was a gap between meetings four and five because it was teachers' winter holiday). Teachers discussed how to work with the material, and afterwards we did an oral evaluation of the workshop. We also agreed to arrange an open seminar evaluation about the workshop for some other teachers, and some students of the Letras course. The teachers agreed to do a poster presentation to show what they had done.

Table 4.10 Workshop sixth meeting planning

DATE: 17/08/2002 - Sixth meeting		
Schedule	Activity	Teachers
14:00 - 14:20	Explanation of the research and the work done in the workshop.	Researcher.
14:20 - 15:30	Explanation of the material developed. Teachers provided a contribution from their experience of participation.	Teachers: All the teachers who participated in the workshop.
16:00 - 16:30	Speech: "Race/Ethnicity" in education in Brazil.	Teacher (Teachers' Union representative).
16:30 - 17:00	Debate.	Participation of everybody.

The sixth and last meeting was as scheduled above. It was videoed and I did the transcriptions of the video. Data generated from this meeting will be used in the analysis of the evaluation of the workshop (see Chapter Nine).

Phase 4 – The materials in use

Workshop with teachers – Classroom observations

The classroom observational element in the research took place in a classroom setting. The intention of this research was to minimise any impact on the schools in which teachers in this study worked, and to encourage teachers to participate fully.

I was aware that the presence of a researcher was likely to influence activity within that setting (Brown & Dowling, 1998: 57) which would affect my claims for a 'natural setting'. In educational settings there is also the matter of the researcher's social relations with the participants of the research (teachers and students). Thus, according to Ball (1993: 39), education networks are already settled in the place where the research will take place. It can be a problem when somebody from outside gains access and penetrates these various networks (see also Hammersley, 1993a, 1993b). On the other hand, the researcher offered a workshop for the teachers in which there was an opportunity to develop a more intimate and informal relationship with them. I was therefore hoping that during the observation period, the teachers would feel more comfortable as a result (Cohen et al., 2000: 188).

Observations in the classroom were intended to collect information specifically about how teachers and students behaved and reacted when working with the material developed on the theme of 'race'/ethnicity. I believe that engaging in classroom observations resulted in some advantages and disadvantages. The main advantage was that I was able to observe the way

teachers and students reacted and interacted when using the material, I considered this to be essential because it would help to validate teachers' responses to the questionnaire/interview and reflection sheets. Among the disadvantages were familiar issues that usually arise when observing a lesson, such as the feeling that I might be 'interfering' with the way that students and teachers behaved, merely because of my 'strange' presence in the classroom. As an observer, I am also a black teacher. Consequently, observing students and teachers talking about 'race'/ethnicity it was likely that my presence was not an entirely neutral one. Therefore, the other instruments of the data gathering were important in order to crosscheck information.

I positioned myself at the back of the classroom, adopting a 'fly on the wall' strategy, looking all the time at my notes. I avoided talking to the students, looking at the teacher, and making eye contact with the students and the teachers, to ensure that my presence would not disturb the class. I decided to record the information using a tape recorder and a table adapted from the information provided by Cohen et al. (2000: 312) (appendix 3).

Phase 5 – Evaluation

Evaluation Seminar

In addition to the continued reflection in phases 3 and 4, I invited other people to participate in the process of evaluation of what was developed in the workshop. The evaluation of the workshop was mainly for teachers to reflect on their participation and to judge the quality of the material developed. The evaluation at the end of the workshop was important because teachers spoke openly about their participation in the workshop. This enriched the study because the results of the workshop reflected the fact that teachers reported their experiences to others on how the workshop had proceeded. The seminar was video-recorded and transcribed by myself.

Evaluation interview

An evaluation interview was also undertaken with those six teachers who were my main informants. This evaluation took place at the teachers' places of work during their non-contact time. Each interview was carried out at a pre-arranged time that best suited the respective teachers. Interviews varied from 20 to 30 minutes duration. All the interviews were tape-recorded. One interview was carried out by telephone because the teacher was on maternity leave from school. This interview was also recorded as the others, using a speakerphone. The interview (see appendix 10) aimed to evaluate the workshop, the materials developed for working with the students, and teachers' participation in the workshop.

Schedule of data gathering: summary

This section provides an overview of how and when the data were gathered. The table (see appendix 11) shows what data were collected, together with the data source and the 'outcomes' in terms of how each stage contributed to the whole research project.

The schedule to gather the data were very tight and I recognised that I needed to be very disciplined in the process. As I explained earlier in this chapter, I felt that I could not use more than three weeks of the teachers' lesson time. From the participant teachers' point of view, the work had to be within the context of their day-to-day work. The schedule was designed in such a way that I could gather the data in a continuous process.

Another consideration was that in the first part of the school year (March to July) teachers had much more time and were more open to participate in workshops and other activities. The Brazilian school summer holiday is from the beginning of December until the middle of February (the winter holiday is in July for two weeks). However, due to teachers' activities in the schools on

Saturdays, the schedule was extended until 17/08/2002. In addition, from the point of view of national holidays, it would be more sensible that I started in the first semester of the school year in Brazil. Thus, the data gathering were conducted from April to September so that teachers had more time to reflect on the activities that we carried out during the period of the material production and classroom observations (see table of all data gathered appendix 11).

Conducting the analysis

Data for this study were gathered from questionnaires, initial teacher interviews, a workshop on material production, classroom observations, evaluations of the workshop, and evaluation interviews conducted with six teachers from Green city. The data were gathered at different moments. First, I got to know the teachers and their understanding of the concepts that relate to this research (Phase 1 and 2). Second, I participated as a workshop leader in which teachers were material developers (Phase 3). Third, I observed teachers delivering the materials they developed (Phase 4). Finally, teachers evaluated their work and participation (Phase 5). This is summarised using the material and instruments as described in table 4.11 below.

Table 4.11 Process of data collection

Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 4	Phase 5
Scoping: the questionnaire	In-depth interviewing	The workshop <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Material developed • Reflection sheets 	The materials in use <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Classroom observation 	Evaluation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evaluation seminar • Evaluation interview

Teachers' responses were analysed and coded. I coded the data into categories using the concepts of several scholars (Cohen, et al., 2000; Gillham, 2000; Merriam, 1988, Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Yin, 1994). Coding categories is the process by which the researcher groups concepts in order to provide meaning to their research. The process of coding categories also

allows the researcher the opportunity to reduce the number of units to be addressed. In this way it is possible to classify the kinds of statements made by the teachers in my research. Particular attention will be paid to black teachers' responses, because according to Critical Race Theory, "People of color more often understand their experience through an awareness of past and continuing discrimination that affects every aspect of their lives in this society" (Bell, 2003: 4). To make sense of the data collected I was guided by the research questions, as well as by the responses to the questionnaires, interviews and reflection sheets.

Data gathering and triangulation

Triangulation in this study is achieved by using multiple methods such as interviews, questionnaires and classroom observation, so that one can cover the deficiencies of the other and achieve the best of each (Merriam, 1988). In this sense, triangulation provides and strengthens, reliability and validity. Thus, the instruments provide the possibility of having a chain of evidence (Gillham, 2000; Yin, 1994), which means what people say (interviews), what I see people doing (observation, that was done in the main study), what they make or produce (questionnaire, and material production in the workshop that was done in the main study) and what documents and records show (interviews).

Material production was considered necessary because teachers do not have access to material to work with in the lessons on the topic of 'race'/ethnicity. Providing teachers with an opportunity to produce material allowed the researcher to have closer contact with them and thus to make observations. Such observations provided a way of understanding how teachers would reveal their understanding of 'race'/ethnicity in the context of EFL teaching.

Conclusion

The teachers who were interviewed had all volunteered to participate in the workshop. Following the workshop, teachers volunteered also to be observed

in their classrooms. Of the eight teachers who volunteered, two had professional and family problems, leaving six teachers as my main informants.

To gather the information, I used questionnaires, interviews and classroom observation. The central approach was to study teachers thinking about their work, and developing and using materials designed to meet particular educational goals. Thus, I conducted a series of workshops on material production that were evaluated with the teachers. I also kept a research diary in which I recorded notes of events, occurrences and reflections.

All the actions concerning the research were done methodically (see appendix 11). The experience of the pilot study was important because it gave me a better understanding of how to conduct the main study. As regards teachers' interviews and questionnaires, the practice of the pilot enabled me to avoid certain inadequacies.

Research is always a compromise between what is ideal and what is practically possible, as determined by the constraints in which we work to collect the data.

CHAPTER 5

TEACHERS' ORIENTATIONS TO CPCCT³¹

It is very tempting to appropriate CRT (Critical Race Theory) as a more powerful explanatory narrative for the persistent problems of race, racism and social injustice. If we are serious about solving these problems in schools and classrooms, we have to be serious about intense study and careful rethinking of race and education. Adopting and adapting CRT as a framework for educational equity means that we will have to expose racism in education *and* propose radical solutions for addressing it.

(Ladson-Billings, 1998: 22 her emphasis)

The major point of CRT is to place race at the center of analysis.

(Parker, 1998: 45)

This chapter is intended to explore teachers' perceptions and experiences with regard to 'race'/ethnicity. In order to examine teachers' accounts I will use some of the ideas of the conceptual framework of Critical Race Theory applied to the field of education (see Chapter Three). The quotes above by Ladson-Billings and Parker shed light on the way that I will be examining my data (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ladson-Billings, 1999; Tate, 1997). The data used in this chapter relates to the questionnaires and the initial interviews (as explained in Chapter Four). As I discussed in the introduction to this thesis, the majority of people who live in Green City have European roots and are descendants of German, Italian and Polish immigrants. It is my contention that these facts are highly significant because teachers will be referring to these aspects of their own cultural context. Thus, the cultural context will help to underpin my analysis. In this way it is possible to lay the foundations for the next phases of my analysis.

³¹ In this chapter I will use CPCCT (cultural plurality as a cross-curricular theme) to refer in general teachers' understanding of CPCCT referring to PCN (national curriculum parameters). I will be using 'race'/ethnicity to refer to teachers' understanding of the specific issue of 'race'/ethnicity as a sub-theme within CPCCT.

In this chapter I examine teachers' own orientations to CPCCT, and specifically the issue of 'race'/ethnicity. I examine the accounts of the teachers taking into consideration the following factors: First, teachers' telling their general perceptions of CPCCT and teachers' perceptions of 'race'/ethnicity. Second, I examine teachers' storytelling, according to their ethnicity. Third, I discuss the issue of 'whiteness'. Finally, I consider what would be needed for all teachers to develop a more sophisticated understanding of 'race'/ethnicity.

Teachers' perceptions to CPCCT

One of my main arguments in this study is that unless teachers have an adequate understanding of issues specific to 'race'/ethnicity, issues of CPCCT in schools will not be adequately addressed. Teachers' perceptions are important because it is their understanding of the issue that is going to make it possible to implement the policy documents at the school level. In other words, it is essential that these teachers understand the PCN (and specifically in this study 'race'/ethnicity) so that they are able to implement it at the classroom level. In this section I will examine some teachers' accounts to draw a picture of their perceptions. These perceptions were categorized in terms of CPCCT and 'race'/ethnicity in the EFL context.

Perceptions of CPCCT: overview of general responses

EFL teachers' opinions of the CPCCT seem to be influenced by what is written in the PCN, which as I explained in Chapter Two, is a very broad document that is open to multiple interpretations. Ladson-Billings & Tate, introducing Critical Race Theory (CRT) to the educational field, explain that:

Current practical demonstrations of multicultural education in schools often reduce it to trivial example and artefacts of cultures such as eating ethnic or cultural foods, singing songs or dancing, reading

folktales, and other less than scholarly pursuit of the fundamentally different conceptions of knowledge or quests for social justice.

(Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995: 61)

Although Ladson-Billings & Tate's findings about the way that teachers interpret multicultural education is taken from the U.S.A. context, it seems to conform to the description provided by my informants (below) in the Brazilian context. As discussed in Chapter Two, most of the discussions in Brazil relating to CPCCT refer to multicultural education, critical multicultural education, intercultural education, and critical intercultural education and very few include an analysis of anti-racist education. It seems that all the teachers in my sample believe that CPCCT is a way of understanding differences solely connected to habits, culture, music, dance, etc.:

"CPCCT is to know about the several ethnic aspects that exist in the world." (Ame, white, questionnaire)

"CPCCT means the various cultures that exist in the world so that students can have a broad understanding of their own culture. In English as FL, I taught students the themes of health, food, values, family values (...)" (Ame, initial interview).

"CPCCT is about cultural aspects, a mix of cultures." (Barbara, white questionnaire)

"My impression of CPCCT is the habits of several countries and races." (Barbara, interview)

This pattern apparently reflects what some researchers have found in other circumstances. Troyna (1992) criticised multicultural education in England because he found that teachers were teaching students based on "The 3 Ss interpretation of multicultural education (Saris, Samosas and Steel bands)" (p. 74). It appears that the aspects identified by Troyna are replicated in the teachers' responses in my research as an indication of the cultural differences between students and other cultures:

"The issue of 'race'/ethnicity is very important, not just in EFL but in any language, because skin colour is an irrelevant physical aspect in relation to the valorisation of a human being." (Ame, questionnaire)

It seems that for some teachers CPCCT is merely a way of relating the various cultural aspects that exist in Brazil:

"CPCCT is interesting (...) I don't remember the name of the author but someone once said that Brazil is made up of many 'Brazils' (...). This issue ('race'/ethnicity) has to be taught in our country, particularly because it is such a mixture. Culturally, we have all 'races' here. I believe that it is the country that has the greatest mixture in all senses: dance, habits, food, the way we dress and so on. (...) The issue has to be taught particularly in Brazil, because we have all races here (...) 'race'/ethnicity is interesting as an issue because it is possible to teach about the differences and how to live with the differences." (Elisa, black, initial interview)

In expressing her view about Brazilian culture, Elisa touches on the view that 'Brazil is made of many Brazils'. She believes that in Brazil all 'races' can be found, through the aspects of diversity of food, dance and so on. Elisa recognizes the need to teach "about the differences and how to live with the differences". However, what is not clear in her statement is how she understands "live with differences". For example, should one accept the 'differences' or try to make students more aware of the "differences" in terms of the inequalities that exist in Brazil in relation to Afro-Brazilian descendants and Euro-Brazilian descents. Barbara provides another example:

"CPCCT is very interesting because we can say Brazil is the symbol of cultural plurality I believe that. I mean you have everything here, you have people of several colours, there are even 'black' Japanese, mixed race Brazilians." (Barbara, white, initial interview)

In the above quotation it seems that Barbara is supporting the 'myth of racial democracy' and colour-blindness. It appears that Barbara cannot understand that working with CPCCT might also be a way of discussing the stereotypical view of 'race'/ethnicity in Brazil. Moreover, in her example she uses the example of two ethnic minorities to exemplify the ethnic mixture in Brazil (i.e. black and Japanese). In addition, her use of the word 'even' can convey a negative meaning to what she is saying. In the extract below it seems that teacher Daniel, who is black, presents an alternative orientation:

"In relation to CPCCT, people pretend that it does not exist (racism), that there is no necessity to speak about it. It is something that is accepted, people make jokes (about black people) you have to ignore. People make pejorative comments and it becomes speculation, but it seems like jokes. So I think that Brazilian people 'give that Brazilian way'³² to everything." (Daniel, black, initial interview)

Daniel's view about CPCCT is very different from most of the teachers above. He does not believe that Brazil is a symbol of CPCCT. Daniel provides an example of how the 'myth of racial democracy' and colour-blindness occurs in reality on a day-to-day basis in Brazilian society. People make pejorative jokes concerning the colour of black people and it is implied by society that this should be accepted.

The aspects pointed out by Barbara and Daniel above seem to show, in very different ways, that the aspect of colour-blindness and 'the myth of racial democracy' still operates. Parker, a critical race theorist, explains that:

Critical race theory exposes the color-blind position to the light. Through narratives and other historical evidence, it documents minority student exclusion and the ways some have had to compromise their race to survive at predominantly white colleges and universities.

(Parker, 1998: 49)

Parker's quote supports Daniel's comments that black students in Brazil have to be silent when other students make pejorative jokes. Teachers' interpretations of CPCCT seem to reinforce Ladson-Billings' & Tate's (1995) criticism of multicultural education. Teachers' accounts also support one of my arguments in Chapter Three that if discussions related to 'race'/ethnicity should occur the 'terms' used need to be explicit. This means that using CPCCT with the aim to address 'race'/ethnicity might be wrongly interpreted, as was shown by the teachers' accounts in this section.

³² Brazilian way (jeitinho Brasileiro): when people break the rules and it is accepted.

Perceptions of 'race'/ethnicity - EFL context

In this section I will examine teachers' perceptions in relation to 'race'/ethnicity and EFL. An overwhelming majority of my questionnaire informants (87 percent) stated that it is important to discuss the issue of 'race'/ethnicity in EFL. Although a majority of teachers acknowledged the importance of discussing the issue of 'race'/ethnicity in their lessons, it seems that their orientations were different.

For some teachers, a way of addressing the issue of 'race'/ethnicity would be to try to connect it to some specific course content that they had to deliver to students. Ame's strategy was to talk about colours as content in EFL lesson (red, blue, etc.):

"I did not teach the way I would like to about the issue of 'black people'. I touched on the issue ('race'/ethnicity) when I worked on colours in EFL lessons. It was not a deep discussion where students could reflect. We had a discussion about several races and about prejudice. I think it is very important to discuss it." (Ame, white, initial interview)

Although she suggested that they did not discuss the issue deeply, it was a starting point that made her think about the importance of discussing this issue ('race'/ethnicity) in the EFL classroom. For other teachers, discussing 'race'/ethnicity is about increasing the familiarity with the language:

"It is important to discuss the issue of 'race'/ethnicity in EFL classrooms so that students do not think that English is just translation, but also information, and awareness (consciousness raising)." (Barbara, white, questionnaire)

In Barbara's view, the EFL classroom can be used as an arena to discuss the issue, relating the subject to students and making them aware of the issue. Yet, in her comments it also appears that the idea of EFL as 'translation' could be one of the assumptions in the way her students, and perhaps herself, understand EFL. For some teachers, the discussion is about

breaking down taboos, and discussing topics that are considered controversial:

"It is important because we work with very diverse students, where races, habits and beliefs are mixed. It is also important to smash some taboos relating to race." (Carmen, black, questionnaire)

"It is relevant. However, it is a complicated issue if you are working with a highly controversial issue, which is also hidden by society." (Daniel, black, questionnaire)

Carmen's and Daniel's views above, conform to Tatum's findings (see also Carrington & Short 1989: 26):

The first source of resistance, race as a taboo topic, is an essential obstacle to overcome if class discussion is to begin at all. Although many students are interested in the topic, they are often most interested in hearing other people talk about it, afraid to break the taboo themselves.

(Tatum, 1996: 325)

As Carmen and Daniel pointed out, discussing the issue in class might be a way of breaking taboos and discussing controversial topics such as 'race'/ethnicity. The taboo and controversial issue that Carmen and Daniel stated might be also related to the legacy of the 'myth of racial democracy' that still exists in Brazil (see Chapter Nine):

The racial democracy ideology created a taboo identifying the unmasking of its antiracist pretence as a reverse racist attack on antiracism. This phenomenon has an effect of supreme importance to the maintenance of the status quo: It robs those excluded of the legitimacy of their protest against discrimination, placing on their shoulders the onus of the very racism that operates their exclusion.

(Nascimento, 2004: 870)

In the accounts of Elisa and Fabia (below), they recognise the need for discussion of the issue, considering it important for the Brazilian context, and also relating to what is discussed worldwide:

"It is extremely important, above all in our country, where the majority are black and mulatto, and we don't acknowledge that." (Elisa, black, questionnaire)

"It is important that we make students aware that this is a worldwide issue, not just in Brazil." (Fabia, white, questionnaire)

Although a majority of questionnaire respondents acknowledged the importance of the discussion, a tiny minority (three teachers) said that it was not important to discuss the issue of 'race'/ethnicity in EFL classrooms. Some of their responses were as follows:

"It is not important, because what really matters is the culture of EFL." (teacher, male 29, mulatto, questionnaire)

"It is not important, because students are not interested in these issues." (teacher, female, 42 mulatto, questionnaire)

"It is not important, because the knowledge of EFL that students have is so precarious. It is better to be approach it in another subject." (teacher, 47 female, white, questionnaire)

These responses seem to suggest that it is not the responsibility of EFL teachers to address such issues. The views of the teachers above might also indicate teachers' own fears of dealing with the issue. Teacher 42, for example, makes assumptions about the way that students might respond. Teacher 29 seems to be more worried about cultural aspects related to EFL. Teacher 47 also seems to believe that the issue should be 'approached in another subject' but she seems unable to understand that all subjects have the responsibility of promoting equality in terms of 'race'/ethnicity. In the next section I will examine teachers' accounts by ethnicity.

Variation between respondents: teachers' ethnicity

One of the major principles of Critical Race Theory (CRT) is that peoples' narratives and stories are important in truly understanding their experiences and how those experiences may present confirmation or counter knowledge of the way society works.

Ladson-Billings (1999: 219)

In this section I decided to examine the accounts of black teachers and white teachers consecutively because black teachers tend to bring to the area of 'race'/ethnicity far greater sensitivities and awareness because of their lived experiences³³. Several studies about 'race'/ethnicity in the classroom illustrate that black and white teachers have different perceptions when dealing with the issue (Callender, 1997; Cavalleiro, 2001; Gomes, 1995, 2003a; Jesus, 2002; Johnson-Bailey, 2001; Kailin, 1999; Ladson-Billings, 1999; López, 2003; Marx & Pennington, 2003; Osler, 1997a; Parker & Stovall, 2004; Pole, 2001; Sleeter, 1993; Solórzano, 1998).

Black teachers' storytelling

(...) the voice of people of color is required for a deep understanding of the educational system.

(Ladson-Billings, 1998: 14)

People of color more often understand their experience through an awareness of past and continuing discrimination that affects every aspect of their lives in this society. They see history continually repeating through oscillating cycles of progress and retreat on racial issues.

(Bell, 2003: 4)

Teaching the issue of 'race'/ethnicity in a diverse ethnic or multi-ethnic classroom can bring some hidden and subtle feelings out into the open. This will require that teachers have a sophisticated understanding of the issue to enable them to deal with what might come out of any discussions of the issue.

The example provided by Carmen (below) describes how, when she was a student herself, she faced racism inside the classroom:

³³ I will be using the term 'black' and 'white' to identify the teachers in this research because that is the way that teachers identified themselves. However, I want to acknowledge that the black movement in Brazil is making efforts to introduce the identification of Afro-descendants and Afro-Brazilians (Gonçalves e Silva 2004).

"I was terrified of May 13th³⁴, because I knew teachers would talk about me. Teachers used to say: 'Blacks are not beautiful, but this is not the case with Carmen. Carmen only has some aspects of black people'. Teachers thought they were praising me." (Carmen, initial interview, black)

It seems that Carmen's experience as a student is similar to what Cashmore (1984: 145) refers to as 'anonymous operation of discrimination'. Although it appeared that her teacher was praising her, Carmen shows that she was aware that her teacher was demonstrating racist behaviour. A similar example was found in research carried out by Pole (2001, see also Gomes, 2003a, Jones et al., 1997), in which he investigated 'Black teachers: curriculum and career'. In his study, he presents the findings of the life history of a black teacher called Carol. She recalls an experience she had in her geography class:

There was a lesson where we were doing the slave trade, the triangle, the slave triangle, I was sitting at the back because I didn't have my mapping pen or something which I had forgotten. I thought she'd spotted me because of that, but she asked me to stand up and I thought well I'm going to have to admit that I haven't got my mapping pen again. And she said, 'We have a prime example of someone in this room who should know a lot about this', because we were doing the slave trade, and then she wrote my name in big capital letters across the board and then underlined it, and kept asking me where that name originated from. (...) So, anyway, the lesson got worse and worse and more painful with her drawing the triangle and showing how *my* ancestors would have been taken from Africa over the Caribbean (...).

(Pole, 2001: 355, his emphasis)

Although this example was from research carried out in the UK, it can be seen as a replication of what occurred to Carmen, and it shows that both teachers still remember their painful experience years later. What happened to both teachers seems to conform to Gillborn's statement:

³⁴ May 13th is the date of celebration of the end of slavery in Brazil. According to Romão (1999) the celebration of commemorative dates in the school system contributed very little to African Brazilian children's understanding, beyond that they are discriminated and enslaved people.

Education can be a force for liberation and anti-racism; but, too often, the education system itself adds to the problems.

(Gillborn, 2002a: 1)

The examples cited above also raise issues of sensitiveness and teachers' preparation to deal with issues such as 'race'/ethnicity (see Chapter Eight). Elisa provides an example of her own experience of teaching the issue of 'race'/ethnicity before her participation in the workshop:

"I taught the issue of 'race'/ethnicity several times mainly about skin colour. Students made lots of jokes (name-calling) but eventually they understood. We studied our family tree and we discovered that the students were not totally white (laughs)." (Elisa, black, initial interview)

The point that Elisa raises here is important because it touches on the issue of skin colour, and how skin colour can bring with it privileges in society and is linked to the process of 'whitening'. Elisa's laughter indicates reflection on the process of whitening. However, there is a need to understand how this process can bring certain advantages to some students. hooks (1984) highlights her experience when speaking to a class about the issue of 'race':

A young Chicana woman who could pass for white was a student in the class. We had a heated exchange when I made the point that the ability to pass for white gave her a perspective on race totally different from that of someone who is dark-skinned and can never pass. I pointed out that any person meeting her with no knowledge of her ethnic background probably assumes that she is white and relates to her accordingly.

(hooks, 1984: 66)

The issue that hooks raises might be compared to the process of 'whitening' that exists in Brazil. In Gomes' (1995) research carried out in Brazil, "The black woman I saw closely: The process of racial identity construction of black teachers"³⁵, she points out that Brazilian "mestiço" children [children of inter-racial marriage] are always in constant conflict. Sometimes the fact of being a child from an inter-racial marriage can bring advantages to a person who "could pass for white" in order to be accepted by society. However,

³⁵ 'A Mulher negra que vi de perto: O processo de construção de identidade racial de professoras negras'.

according to Gomes, this is a strategy used by “mestiços” to elevate their white origin and avoid referring to their black or native Indian origin (Gomes, 1995: 80). The issue of whitening illustrates the importance of discussing issues such as identity and belonging with students and teachers. This discussion can bring an awareness of self-identification to certain ethnic groups (see Chapters Eight and Nine). This again raises questions regarding the classification of skin colour that occurs in Brazil, which is not by ancestry but according to shades of skin colour (as discussed in Chapter One). The issue of name-calling and racist jokes that Elisa describes in the extract (above) are also replicated in Daniel's extract (below):

“In relation to ‘race’/ethnicity, what I can say is that I taught in an implicit way, (...). In reality, we have students that come from a prejudiced society. I taught a bit but I cannot see the results (...). On the issue of ‘race’/ethnicity, what happens sometimes with the students’ behaviour related to racism is a problem that originates in the family. So there is someone who teases (calling names), and someone who is always persecuted. I think that the black students in the classroom accept (name-calls) too much. Students treat everything as a joke. They cannot see that the joke might be wrong. Someone may not be offended up to a point, or they do not show that they are offended. I also personally had this problem in the classroom and outside. It is like those common jokes about the Portuguese, this kind of thing is really prejudice.” (Daniel, initial interview, black)

Daniel's comments shows that it is possible to help students by exploring issues of ‘race’/ethnicity. In his opinion, teachers could deal with the issue of racism in the school setting and he believes that the racist behaviour that students acquire might originate in the family environment, behaviour that then may be brought to the school. In his view, society is prejudiced, and teachers’ focus on ‘race’/ethnicity does not, as yet, result in any improvement in this state of affairs. There is teasing (name-calling or racial insult) in class concerning skin colour, and even acceptance by black people of being teased. Daniel's comments seem to suggest a reflection about the role of the school in discussing issues related to ‘race’/ethnicity. According to Nascimento (2001: 119), black children in Brazil are encouraged by parents and teachers to not react with aggression when they encounter racist

nicknames and swearing. This is encouraged because white children are not punished for such behaviour and their aggressive attitude is often seen as a 'joke'. According to Connolly & Keenan's (2002), research on racist harassment in the UK context, "(...) certain behaviour may simply be unwitting or even motivated by good intentions. However, its effects can still be to leave those subject to it feeling vulnerable and exposed, and thus harassed" (p: 346). Daniel also points out that students' families are also responsible in some cases for students' racist attitudes. Tatum (1994), in her study "Teaching white students about racism", points out that, "Many white students have experienced their most influential adult role models, their parents, as having been the source of overtly expressed racial prejudices" (p: 465).

Daniel also indicates that he has had the same problem of students making racist jokes towards him. As Jones et al. (1997: 142) have noted, trainee teachers have to accept what occurs in the school environment even when they feel uncomfortable, "(...) for black trainee teachers the situation may well be compounded by issues of race" (Jones et al., 1997: 143). That means having to adopt strategies to cope with the situation instead of trying to change it. Although the example provided by Jones et al. related to research into initial teacher training in London, it may well reflect the reality of teachers in service in Brazil. In Daniel's comments we can see an indication that perhaps it is accepted as 'natural' that nobody should listen to his views or those of his students in schools in Brazil. Davis (2000) also confirms that jokes and bad treatment concerning 'race'/ethnicity are seen as natural in Brazilian society (p. 99).

The jokes that Daniel referred to can also be called 'name-calling'. Name-calling is also known in Brazil as racial insult. Guimarães's (2003a), study of "Racial insult in Brazil" identified several ways that Brazilians use to insult a black person. His data was collected from police records in which black people made reports. Guimarães states that the racial insults used towards black people were intended to institutionalise racial inferiority. For him:

The attribution of inferiority consists of apposition of a synthetic mark like color, as well as negative qualities or properties relation to physical constitution, morality, social organization, habits of hygiene, and humanity, to a certain group of people considered 'negras' or 'pretas' [very black].

(Guimarães, 2003a: 148).

Daniel's example clearly demonstrates overtly racist attitudes. Overt racism is easily identified because the person who perpetrates the act makes it clearly visible (see Troyna & Hatcher, 1992a; Connolly, 1998; Connolly & Keenan, 2002). However, other forms of racism, such as institutional racism, can be very subtle:

'Institutional racism' consists of the collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people.

(Macpherson, 1999: 321 quoted by Gillborn, 2002: 16)

One of the ways to identify institutional racism in the school system is through careful investigation of students' outcomes by ethnicity. This strategy is emphasised in table 3.2 in Chapter Three. As López (2003), a critical race theorist, explains:

When racism becomes "invisible", individuals begin to think that it is merely a thing of the past and/ or only connected to the specific act. Rarely is racism seen as something that is always present in society and in our daily lives (...).

(López, 2003: 69-70)

López's statement (above) makes it clear that acts of racism should be discussed in order to give 'voice' to those people who are oppressed and who feel that their voices are not heard. However, as I pointed out earlier in this chapter, Nascimento has shown that black children in Brazil are encouraged by parents and teachers to not react with aggression when they encounter racist nicknames and swearing. According to Ladson-Billings (1998), "The "voice," component of CRT provides a way to communicate the

experience and realities of the oppressed, a first step in understanding the complexities of racism (...)" (p. 14). However, teachers, all school staff, students, and the community have to learn together how to work collaboratively so that it is possible that open discussion can occur. Examples of this are shown in the experiences of Meier & Schwartz (1995) and Gandin & Apple (2002). In the next section I will provide some examples of white teachers' experiences.

White teachers' storytelling

(...) the majority of Whites do not see race or racism as a concern and the majority of people of colour hold an opposing view. Overwhelmingly, studies and voluminous anecdotal accounts support the existence of differing experiences based on race and ethnicity (...).
(Johnson-Bailey, 2001: 91)

There is variation in the responses of the black and white teachers I interviewed. In the extract (below), Barbara describes what happened in her own classroom during the time that she was delivering a lesson. It shows how the words 'nego' and 'negro' can be used to address a black person. In Brazil, people often use the terms 'negro (a)' or 'preto (a)' to describe a black person. People who belong to the black movement, and those who are aware of the nomenclature, prefer to be addressed as 'negro (a)' and lately there is an increasing tendency to use the term 'Afro-Brasileiro (a)' [Afro-Brazilian] and Afro-descendant because it relates to a person's African ancestry rather than their skin colour. Nevertheless, the majority of the Brazilian population use the words 'negro' and 'preto' interchangeably.

Although the words 'nego' and 'negro' mean the same thing and can identify someone as a 'black person', 'nego' is a misspelled/mispronounced way of saying 'negro', that some people use as an affective nickname for those they like in the Brazilian context. The other way of using 'nego', as the teacher suggests, emphasises negative associations. The word is often used with this meaning in Brazil:

"Once, in the classroom we were discussing a text in Portuguese where the text referred to something related to 'blacks' as dirty. A black student asked me if I was saying bad things about him. But I did not understand why he said that. Then I explained to him about 'nego' and 'negro' (black), because 'nego' is 'pejorative' and anybody can be that. But 'negro' (black) is a 'race'." (Barbara, initial interview, white)

Although Barbara might not have intended to have racist behaviour, this clearly illustrates that "constructions of race are submerged and hidden" (Ladson-Billings, 1998: 9). Barbara's extract also shows how something that is said in the classroom can take on another dimension:

(...) racial dynamics can operate in subtle and powerful ways even when they are not overtly on the minds of the actors involved.
(Apple, 1999: 10)

For instance, in Brazilian society there are some proverbs that reflect peoples' views about black people, such as, "If a Negro doesn't do anything wrong on the way in, she/he will do it on the way out"; "A good Negro is born dead"; "He/she is black, but has the soul of a white"; (Wells, 2003, see also Rossato & Gesser, 2001). The emphasis on the colour 'black' is often associated with pejorative and negative aspects that demonstrate how blackness is constructed. Barbara's comments could be seen as an example of the way that racism can operate, and the power that schools have in terms of excluding and being violent towards black people (Romão, 2001: 166). Although the example given by Barbara was in school during class time when she was delivering a lesson to 35 students, she probably would not consider her behaviour to be racist. This example also shows how powerful racism can be because it communicates directly to black students, who do not enjoy a privileged position in the school environment, and in society as a whole. It also communicates to non-black students how they can use the same strategy. This reinforces the fact that whenever and wherever these non-black students are, at that present moment, and also in the future, they know that they will have privileges in school, in their professional career, etc. Ladson-Billings states that:

Most prospective teachers are not racist in the sense that they overtly discriminate and oppress people of color. Rather, the kind of racism that students face from teachers is more tied to Wellman's (1977) definition of racism as "culturally sanctioned beliefs which, regardless of the intentions involved, defend the advantages whites have because of the subordinated positions of racial minorities" (p. xviii).

(Ladson-Billings, 1999: 225)

The experience that Barbara relates is that of a teacher who is in the position of authority and who uses her power as a teacher, emphasizing the prejudice and racism in her own place of work (school). Although in one sense it seems that she was not aware of being racist, in another sense, the example that she provided clearly reflects the way that racism and prejudice operate (see Chapter Eight). She saw it as perfectly natural to use the expression 'nego' in a pejorative way in front of 35 students. Another aspect to consider is that during my interview with her she did not reflect critically on what she had said in the classroom.

The case of Ame makes it clear that the family setting itself can create prejudice:

"I come from a very prejudiced family, my grandparents come from Switzerland. Yes, my grandparents come straight from Switzerland. (...) One son that got married to somebody who was a bit brown had to leave home. There were aunts that got pregnant and could not have the baby because the man, the father of the baby, was brown [moreno]. There were horrible situations that occurred when I was a child. I was not aware of what was right or wrong. I learned about prejudice myself as I was growing up. When I became an adult I could notice the difference, and that was not correct." (Ame, initial interview, white)

Ame's experience seems to reinforce the idea that the construction of racism and prejudice also begins long before the process of being educated to be a teacher. Teachers' concepts about the issue ('race'/ethnicity) can be brought to the professional environment, as discussed by Gomes & Gonçalves e Silva (2002: 16). Troyna & Hatcher (1992b: 131) state that, "both racist and anti-racist feelings, derive from several sources of experience such as: family, television and local community". In the previous section, Daniel also pointed to the same issue. In the case of Ame's parents, it appears that her

family were concerned about keeping the family white, and being white themselves. When Fabia recounted her experience as a teacher, she gave examples of people being prejudiced:

“In reality, people still have prejudice but they do not admit it. It is difficult to admit. So they are afraid (...) they talk superficially about the issue ('race'/ethnicity) without great interaction, which is what should happen.” (Fabia, initial interview, white)

Although Fabia states that the issue should be discussed, she recognizes that it is not talked about in depth. It seems that people, according to Fabia, prefer to adopt a colour-blind strategy. The strategy of colour-blindness means that teachers are unable to understand how the idea of racism is constructed and who benefit from racism. In the next section I will make an attempt to show how the voices of white and black teachers tend to differentiate.

Black and white teachers' voices: how they are different

In this section, using the ideas suggested by Critical Race Theorists, I will make an attempt to reflect on black and white teachers' voices and how they tend to differ. I hope to show that using CRT ideas can make it possible to arrive at a better understanding of 'race'/ethnicity in initial teacher education (ITE) courses. I will be using as examples the comments made by the teachers in the former section.

The experiences of Carmen, Daniel and Elisa (who self-identified as black) and their storytelling provided ways to understand how these black teachers tend to face racism in their lives (professionally, in schools, and in their daily lives). It was also evident that their experiences provided ways for them to understand that as they belong to “minority groups” they might “internalise the stereotypic images” that were provided in their accounts. Their accounts also demonstrated some of the ways that racism is constructed. This is clear

from the way in which these teachers (Daniel, Elisa and Carmen) use their storytelling to describe their experiences of racism. Black teachers' experiences also seem to be different from white teachers because they experience 'race' and racism differently. It differs because they see the world through the experiences they have that are shaped by their own ethnicity, something that white teachers tend not to experience.

Finally, the experiences provided by teachers Barbara, Ame and Fabia (who self-identified as white) seem to confirm that, "Most oppression does not seem like oppression to the perpetrator" (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995: 57, quoting Delgado, 1989). Although I refer here to the white teachers, all of them did not have the same position. Fabia, for example recognized that, "people still have prejudice but they do not admit it". However, all the white teachers' accounts that I have referred tend not to reflect on the way that white oppression might affect the lives of non-white people.

The examples provided above reinforce some of the general issues contained in CRT. According to Lynn (1999: 615), these issues are: the endemic nature of racism (i.e.: racism is in the school environment, society, family) and the importance of cultural identity (i.e.: the process of whitening, name-calling). In the next section I will discuss the issue of whiteness by referring to teachers' accounts.

The issue of whiteness

Whiteness is constructed in this society as the absence of the "contaminating" influence of blackness. Thus, "one drop of black blood" constructs one as black, regardless of phenotypic markers.

(Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995: 60, quoting Bell, 1980)

The history of the world's diverse peoples in general as well as minority groups in Western societies in particular has often been told from a white historiographical perspective. Such accounts erased the values, epistemologies and belief systems that grounded the cultural practises of diverse peoples.

(Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997: 211)

In "The experience of whiteness through racial conflicts: Studies of Brazilian and North American realities"³⁶, Rossato & Gesser (2001) explain how they experienced whiteness. Rossato, who is Brazilian (he lived among Italians, Germans and Polish in Santa Catarina, South of Brazil), expresses the way that whiteness was an integral part of his life. He recounts a story that happened to him during the time that he was studying as an undergraduate. An Afro-Brazilian friend of his sometimes used to tell him about the racist experiences that he had at the same university where they were studying. According to Rossato, he had difficulty in believing his friend's experiences and used to tell him that perhaps there were misunderstandings. In his reflection about these events he attributed his limitation of understanding to his hegemonic formation that was influenced by whiteness. Ladson-Billings (1998: 16) recounts the following story:

One White woman shared a personal experience of going into a neighborhood supermarket, having her items rung up by the cashier, and discovering that she did not have her checkbook. The cashier told her she could take her groceries and bring the check back later. When she related this story to an African American male friend, he told her that was an example of the privilege she enjoyed because she was White. Her White property was collateral against the cart full of groceries. She insisted that this was the store's good neighbor policy, and the same thing would have happened to him. Determined to show his friend that their life experiences were qualitative different, the young man went shopping a few days later and pretended to have left his checkbook. The young woman was standing off to the side observing the interaction. The same cashier, who had been pointed out by the woman as the "neighborly one", told the young African American man that he could push the grocery items to the side while he went home to get his checkbook. The White woman was shocked as the African American male gave her a knowing look.

(Ladson-Billings, 1998: 16)

Both these examples provided by Rossato & Gesser (2001) and Ladson-Billings (1998) report white privilege and introduce the idea of whiteness. According to Ladson-Billings & Tate (1995: 59), the idea of whiteness is that being white on its own can be seen as a property. Ladson-Billings & Tate

³⁶ A experiência da branquitude diante de conflitos raciais: Estudos de realidades brasileiras e estadunidenses.

(1995: 59-60) also describe the way that white can be seen as a property and how it can be used in the educational system.

The experiences and 'narratives' or telling stories of white teachers also explain how they generally tend not to understand their own privilege of being white and the privileged position of their white students in the classroom. In my study, this may be demonstrated by Fabia's narrative, when she states that "people talk superficially about the issue". It may also be evident in the stereotypes constructed by Ames' relatives and Barbara's idea of the word 'nego'. Barbara's comments relate to what Ladson-Billings calls blackness. In Ladson-Billings' (1998) view, we live in a "racialized society where whiteness is positioned as normative" (p: 9).

What would be needed for all teachers to develop a more sophisticated understanding of 'race'/ethnicity?

(...) whiteness, is historically fractured in its apprehension of racial formations. In order to 'see' the formation in full view, whites have to mobilize a perspective that begins with racial privilege as a central unit of analysis. Since starting from this point would mean whites engage in a thorough historical understanding of 'how they came to be' in a position of power, most whites resist such an undertaking and instead focus on individual merit, exceptionalism, or hard work.

(Leonardo, 2002: 37)

According to Leonardo, whiteness is a social construction that should be discussed so that people are able to understand the way that it was constructed. In the case of Brazil, it might be even more difficult to discuss this issue because as Leonardo notes, "In Brazil, color-blind discourse disables the nation's ability to locate white privilege in exchange for an imagined racial paradise of mixing, matching, and miscegenation" (p: 35). Although, the discourse of 'colour-blindness' and the 'myth of racial democracy' are common in Brazil, the results shown in Brazilian society demonstrate a very different picture (see Chapter One tables 1.2, 1.3 and 1.4). According to Lovell (2000), "Today, vigorous public debate over Brazil's image as a racial democracy has displaced the ideology of racial democracy.

The overwhelming evidence makes clear that racial inequality, prejudice, and discrimination are Brazil's social reality" (p: 89). This is evident from the numbers of black students that drop out of elementary school, and by the limited access for black people to universities³⁷. According to Ladson-Billings:

CRT becomes an important intellectual and social tool for deconstruction, reconstruction, and construction: deconstruction of oppressive structures and discourses, reconstruction of human agency, and construction of equitable and socially just relations of power.

(Ladson-Billings, 1998: 9)

Taking this into consideration, whiteness is an issue that needs to be addressed in ITE courses so that what was constructed in the name of power can be deconstructed and discussed in the name of equality and social justice as is advocated in CRT. Marx & Pennington's (2003) research into whiteness examined white pre-service teachers in order to explore the issues of whiteness and white racism with their white students to, "help them become more aware of the advantages and biases inherent in their positionality as White teachers" (Marx & Pennington, 2003: 91). I will now attempt to discuss how the study of whiteness could help all teachers to understand the complexities of racism. I will take as an example the teachers' accounts provided previously. It was clear that these accounts had shown that there was a lack of deep reflection on the complexities of racism in the way that Leonardo (2002) has described. At this moment I want to highlight the need for teachers to better understand the complexities of racism.

Marx & Pennington (2003) reported the following finding in relation to white preservice students discussing the topics of whiteness and white racism.

(...) nearly all of them were eager to share their views about these normally taboo subjects when discussions were ensconced in supportive, trusting, dialogical conversations.

(Marx & Pennington (2003: 104)

³⁷ Some universities in Brazil have recently started to introduce affirmative action to assist black students (see Gonçalves e Silva & Silverio, 2003).

This finding relates to my study in the way in which the white teacher Ame (in her initial interview above) shares the experience of racism that she had as she grew up within her own family. Marx & Pennington's second finding is that:

They (students/preservice teachers) were able to talk about it (issue of racism) in a less constrained, more fluent manner, they became more critical of it.

(Marx & Pennington, 2003: 104, parenthesis explanation added)

The quote above, sheds light on what is needed for all teachers to understand the issue of racism. They need to discuss the topic openly and recognize that through dialogue they can better understand and discuss the manner in which racism is constructed. In her accounts, Fabia reports that, "people have prejudice but they do not admit it, it is difficult to admit". The open discussion of such issues might be a way of sharing views and consequently becoming more critical about the issue of racism. Fabia also states that "they are afraid (...) they talk superficially about the issue ('race'/ethnicity)". The way in which Fabia describes being afraid of talking about the issue is an example of the need to construct an atmosphere of trust within ITE courses. The starting point is to make it possible to openly discuss the topic. Marx & Pennington's third findings as follows:

(...) through this new language of, and understanding of, White racism and Whiteness, students/participants finally began to see the ways in which their racism affected the children of color with whom they worked.

(Marx & Pennington, 2003: 105)

This finding relates to my study in the way that Barbara (initial interview above) failed to understand the use of word 'nego' in a pejorative way. Although she used the word unwittingly, it was racist and could have affected the non-white students with whom she worked. Marx & Pennington's final finding was that:

(...) our students/participants tended to associate goodness with nonracist identities. (...) Because they viewed goodness and racism as a dichotomy, their first glimpse of their own racism led them to the conclusion that they must be horrible people. (...) Moreover, despite their altruist hearts and their efforts to "hide" their racism, it is still possible for their racism to hurt the children they teach.

(Marx & Pennington, 2003: 105)

I will relate this last finding to Ame, who revealed that she came from a very prejudiced family. She explains the difficult situations that she faced as a child. Ame also reports that it was "not correct" to have the feeling of prejudice. I would argue that this suggests that Ame's feeling of it not being 'correct' to be prejudiced might be attached to a feeling of "goodness".

The similarities that I have attempted to illustrate between my findings, and the study done by Marx & Pennington's (2003), demonstrate some actions that ITE courses might take. These suggested actions might allow educators to work towards a better understanding of how racism is constructed so that all teachers are more aware of the ways in which they might perpetuate racism in the classroom without intention. Marx & Pennington's (2003) study also shows how teachers might become more critical after discussing issues of whiteness and white racism, so that, "teachers can begin the long process of unlearning racism" (Kailin, 1999: 746, see also Sleeter, 1993). I would argue that it is essential to address issues of whiteness, because in the words of Gillborn:

(...) It is only recently that academics have begun to pay serious attention to the construction and experience of white ethnicity in multiethnic settings (...). This is a vital development since most agree that antiracist strategies cannot enjoy widespread success without the active involvement of white people.

(Gillborn, 2000a: 1507)

Conclusion

According to my findings, teachers' own orientations to CPCCT varies. However, there are some factors that influence their perceptions. One factor is in relation to CPCCT, and is associated with learning about the cultural

aspects of the 'other' related to EFL, the celebration of 'diversity' in Brazil. Teachers' perceptions also seem to relate to the Brazilian historical context. By this, I mean the construction of the 'myth of racial democracy' and the fact that colour-blindness is very clear in their voices (e. g.: Barbara, Daniel).

In relation to 'race'/ethnicity, the teachers' perceptions seem to reflect two important points of view. First, it seems that teachers' worries in terms of the issue of 'race'/ethnicity in relation of EFL were about discussing the specific content of EFL lessons (i.e.: Ame). Second, it was also evident that teachers were worried about discussing an issue that many of them considered to be a "taboo", or "controversial" issue. My findings in this chapter seem to re-enforce my argument that teachers' understanding of CPCCT might be a factor that affects their understanding of 'race'/ethnicity.

I have argued that teachers' ethnicity is a factor in helping them to understand 'race'/ethnicity. My sample revealed several findings. My first finding was that teachers' own ethnicity is a contributory factor in the way that they understand 'race'/ethnicity. This is clear from the experiences of Carmen, Daniel and Elisa who are black and seem to have experienced more overt manifestations of racism due to their ethnicity. Because these teachers are black they also are more sensitised to the issue of 'race'/ethnicity. My research also shows that the experiences provided by white teachers tend to demonstrate very little analysis of the experiences that they went through, and how their experiences might affect their students' lives. To have a broad picture of teachers' perspectives of 'race'/ethnicity it is necessary to understand teachers' professional development, which I will examine in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

TEACHERS' PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Most teacher educators never received an education that was empowering, anti-racist, problem posing, or liberatory.

(Ladson-Billing, 1999: 241, quoting Ahlquist, 1991: 168)

This chapter focuses on teachers' preparation to teach 'race'/ethnicity. In order to examine teachers' preparation I take into consideration factors such as: (i) lack of preparedness; (ii) teachers' priorities in terms of their continuing professional development (CPD); (iii) barriers teachers face in implementing anti-racist education. I argue that initial teacher education (ITE) often provides teachers with a 'craft model' knowledge, and as a result teachers' priorities in terms of CPD are generally based on language skills rather than courses that would lead them to conduct reflective teaching.

In relation to ITE, it is clear from my findings that teachers' preparation to teach the issue of CPCCT is the major difficulty that they face. However, some of the teachers in my questionnaire mentioned that they felt that they were already prepared to teach CPCCT. Their preparedness was related to familiarity with North American culture, their experience in teaching, their own life experience, and their students' interest in the topic. Teachers' accounts revealed several failures in relation to preparation in terms of their ITE which consequently led them to non-reflective teaching.

The other main aspect to be examined in this chapter relates to teachers' priorities regarding their continuing professional development (CPD). Teachers said that they did not feel prepared to teach CPCCT, because they did not have a reflective ITE course and also because they encounter several barriers in terms of their working conditions. However, my findings show that teachers' priorities continue to be largely related to language skills and not to improving their knowledge in relation to 'race'/ethnicity.

Teachers referred to several barriers that they face when they attempt to implement anti-racist education. My findings indicate that these barriers were in terms of their working conditions such as: working contract, working hours (number of classes per week), and the number of schools they work in. Teachers also referred to the barriers that they face inside their own schools and in their NRE³⁸ (LEA).

To analyse teachers' accounts I will continue using the framework of CRT. Morris (2001) has pointed out that, "CRT discourse is primarily occurring within academic communities rather than among practitioners involved with the day-to-day education (...)" (p: 578). What I have tried to do in my analysis is to attempt to apply CRT discourse to the day-to-day experiences of education detailed in my research. I will also be using the framework of Wallace (1991) and Milner (2003a, 2003b). Wallace (1991) uses the 'model of professional education' in the field of language teaching in which he presents models of professional education some of them are: the craft model and the reflective model. Milner (2003b) applies the concept of reflection "surrounding the issues of race" (p. 195) in relation to ITE in the broad field of education.

Lack of preparedness

In this section I provide evidence to show that teachers in their ITE had a grammar skills-guided course. This factor led them to feel unprepared to teach about the issue of 'race'/ethnicity. Professional development is central to anti-racist education and CRT. For critical race theorists it is essential to use anti-racist strategies to address the ideas of CRT. According to López (2003), there is a "need to develop anti-racist educators who recognize the reproductive functions of schooling and have the courage to envision different possibilities for schooling – particularly for our most marginalized youth communities" (p. 71). Discussions about issues of ITE and anti-racist education inform the relevance of teachers being prepared to teach such an

³⁸ NRE – Núcleo Regional de Educação. This is the equivalent of the Local Education Authority (LEA).

issue (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Gillborn, 2000a; Gomes, 1995; Gonçalves e Silva, 2003; Lynn, 1999; Moita Lopes, 2002; Munanga, 2003; Parker, 1998).

Although López acknowledges the importance of educating teachers to develop an anti-racist strategy, Ladson-Billings (1999: 240), another prominent critical race theorist, recognises that it is a difficult task:

What does a CRT perspective tell us about the preparation of teachers for diverse student populations? In general, it suggests that such work is difficult, if not impossible.

(Ladson-Billings, 1999: 240)

To analyse teachers' ITE I will use Wallace's models of professional education. Wallace (1991: 6) suggests some models of professional education, and the ones I will use in my analysis are the craft model, and the reflective model. He presents the craft model as one that values the experiential aspect of professional development, but is essentially static and imitative. This model does not satisfactorily handle the crucial element of the explosive growth of relevant scientific knowledge in recent times. The 'reflective model' works from teachers' direct experiences and re-evaluates the classroom teachers' expertise, derived from experience. Wallace (1991: 12) takes into consideration the work of the scholar Schön (1983), who conceptualised reflection. Wallace (1991: 14), adapting Schön's concept, proposes a 'reflective model' in which he suggests two dimensions to teacher education:

- Received knowledge: In this the trainee becomes acquainted with the vocabulary of the subject and the matching concepts, research findings, theories and skills which are widely accepted as being part of the necessary intellectual content of the profession. So, currently, it might be accepted that a skilled language teacher will be able (among many other things) to speak the target language to a reasonable degree of fluency, to organise pair and group work, to read a simple phonetic transcription, to be familiar with certain grammatical terms and so on.
- Experiential knowledge: Here, the trainee will have developed knowledge-in-action by practice of the profession, and will have had, moreover, the opportunity to reflect on that knowledge-in-action.

(Wallace, 1991: 14-15)

Wallace (1991) analysed teacher reflection in the field of language teaching. In a recent study, Milner (2003a: 175) considers the reflection of 'race' in teacher education courses also using Schön's concept. The way that Milner (2003a, see also Milner, 2003b) considers reflection also brings the issue of 'race' into the discussion, and he points out that:

Race reflection can be seen as a way to uncover inconspicuous beliefs, perceptions, and experiences, specifically where race is concerned. It can be a process to understand hidden values, dispositions, biases, and beliefs that were not in the fore of a teacher's thinking prior to conscious attempts to come to terms with them.

(Milner, 2003a: 175)

Both Wallace and Milner use the concept of reflection to attempt to understand the way that it can help teachers to think critically about their own practice. In the next section I examine the relevance of these models to ITE. Teachers' accounts in this section were divided into: (i) lack of preparedness: ITE, and (ii) lack of preparedness: teachers' experiences of teaching 'race'/ethnicity.

Lack of preparedness: Initial Teacher Education

It is important to understand the dynamic of ITE in EFL, and Pennycook in his discussion about EFL education classes states that:

(...) so much of what we read about TESOL³⁹ and applied Linguistics, or hear in teacher education classes, tends to view classes as closed boxes. I would like to consider an alternative view – that classrooms, both in themselves and in their relationship to the world beyond their walls, are complex social and cultural spaces.

(Pennycook, 2000: 89)

Pennycook's comments are illuminating because they relate to teachers' views of their own ITE, an issue that I start to analyse below. Although Pennycook's comments refer to TESOL in an international context,

³⁹ TESOL – Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages.

researchers in Brazil have often come to the same conclusion (Gimenez, 1994, 2003; Moita Lopes, 1996, 2002, 2003a; Rajagopalan, 1999).

All of the teachers included in my study were qualified in the subject of Letras⁴⁰ (Portuguese/English). Out of 46 teachers, 54 percent graduated before the discussion of PCN started. As mentioned in Chapter Two, discussions about the PCN started at the end of 1994 and its implementation began in 1998. Although almost half of the questionnaire respondents (41 percent) acknowledged that their ITE influenced their practice in terms of teaching, over two-thirds (71 percent) of teachers considered that their ITE did not offer them a degree that made them think critically. In addition, over two-thirds (70 percent) responded that they did not feel prepared to teach CPCCT. Research carried out in Brazil and abroad confirms my findings (Cavalleiro, 2001; Gillborn, 1995; Gomes, 1995; Gonçalves e Silva, 1996; Gonçalves & Gonçalves e Silva 1998, 2000, 2003; Starkey & Osler, 2001). In teachers' accounts they expressed opinions regarding their ITE. Some teachers felt that their ITE was inadequate, not even providing them with enough knowledge of the English language which is, after all, their major subject:

"In English language as a subject it was not possible to develop the necessary skills (reading, speaking, listening, writing)." (Fabia, reflection sheet)

"I think that my ITE course at university did not fulfill my needs in terms of Portuguese and English language (...)." (Barbara, initial interview)

Another aspect pointed out by teachers was the quantity of classes that they had. In the specific case of Fabia, she questioned if the university where she studied had improved since her graduation. Her doubts seem to be related to her own judgment of the lack of teaching expertise of the teachers that taught her during her ITE:

⁴⁰ Letras is the name of the undergraduate course to teach EFL, Portuguese language, English language and its literature, Portuguese literature and Brazilian literature.

"In my ITE course the English lessons that we had were minimal. I don't know if they have improved now, but at that time we did not even have a teacher who really knew how to teach English language." (Fabia, initial interview)

"My ITE was deficient. There weren't opportunities to practice oral skills. The ITE course was just about copying grammatical rules, and even that was done badly." (teacher 36, questionnaire)

Some teachers were skeptical about how it was possible to be reflective and analytical with this kind of ITE. Some of their accounts give the impression of an ITE that was of the 'craft knowledge' model:

"In 1987 we used to study a lot of grammar, and the material that we had to prepare for our teaching practice was not analytical. The material we prepared for teaching practice was very handmade, such as puppets." (Carmen, initial interview)

The lack of critical awareness, seems to be emphasized in these accounts:

"My ITE course was very grammatically-based and traditional." (Ame, initial interview)

"My ITE course did not to teach the importance of teaching interdisciplinary language communication, such as listening, speaking and critical awareness." (Ame, reflection sheet)

"The ITE was only grammatical structure, it was not critical." (teacher 28, questionnaire)

"In the EFL there wasn't an critical approach." (teacher 24, questionnaire)

Some other teachers make it clear that their ITE did not allow space for discussion and the possibility to interact and be reflective. This is very much present in their accounts (below):

"I finished my ITE course a long time ago. Our classes were huge. We were just taught grammar skills and translation. We were not given an opportunity to create and discuss the language - why we were teaching and to whom." (Elisa, questionnaire)

"In my ITE course, issues were not open for discussion. It was 15 years ago. It was very grammatically-based, we did not have any seminars."
(Elisa, initial interview)

"We just followed the textbook." (teacher 42, questionnaire)

It seems from these teachers' accounts (above) that their ITE may have influenced the way that they understand CPCCT, and consequently 'race'/ethnicity. The impression gained from the accounts of Ame, Fabia, Barbara, Carmen and Elisa is that their ITE were very much related to traditional, grammar and translation-guided courses, or the craft model as exemplified by Wallace (1991) and also Milner (2003a, see also Atkinson, 1997). This might indicate that teachers' practice will follow the pattern that they have learned in their ITE.

In the context of Brazil, Cavalcanti (1999) claims that the ITE in Licenciatura Letras (languages ITE) emphasizes the development of linguistic competence of future EFL teachers to the detriment of pedagogic practice.

From my sample, Daniel seems to have a different view about his ITE. He believes that his degree course made him think critically because in his opinion his course was reflective and successfully related theory and practice:

"We had reflective lessons about theory and pedagogical practice."
(Daniel, questionnaire)

Although Daniel considers that his degree course was reflective he also states that:

"My teachers at university did not have any worries about teaching issues related to 'race'/ethnicity. I was the only black student in class. However, there was no need for everybody to discuss the issue, I knew that few black people had access to university." (Daniel, interview)

Although Daniel commented that his course was reflective, it did not appear to help him reflect on the need for all students to discuss issues of

'race'/ethnicity. Daniel asserts that he did not discuss issues related to 'race'/ethnicity during his course. He feels that it was not discussed because he was the only black pre-service student in the class, and consequently this issue was not emphasised because all his classmates were white. Daniel's view seems also to conform to López's (2003: 70), experience working with CRT when he was teaching pre-service teachers a special section on diversity in the United States. He was interrupted by a white middle school principal who declared:

(...) I come from a pretty homogenous district. All of my students are basically White. We've never had any diversity in my district and we probably never will have any diversity either. When are we moving on to the more important stuff?

(López, 2003: 70)

Although both Daniel and the school principal quoted (above) seem to feel that there is no need for pre-service teachers to study the topic of racism, I would argue that issues of 'race'/ethnicity and whiteness need to be discussed even if there is not a majority of black people in a class or in a community. In Chapter Five I argued and demonstrated through other research evidence that if the issue of whiteness is discussed with teachers it might be a way of challenging stereotypes and making them aware of the way that whiteness is seen as a norm. Teachers need to know how institutional racism operates inside schools. It seems that the accounts provided by the teachers (above) also conform to what occurs in the USA context. Ladson-Billings claims that:

Most teachers report that their pre-service preparation did little or nothing to prepare them for today's diverse classroom.

(Ladson-Billings, 2000a: 208)

Teachers' responses suggest that their ITE was based on the 'craft knowledge' model. Because of that, I would suggest that Milner's (2003b, see also 2003a) comments are particularly relevant: "attention, (...) should be dedicated to racial reflection if we are going to even think about more effectively preparing pre-service teachers to teach in racially diverse

contexts" (p. 194). This need for engagement is crucial because teachers' accounts made it clear that their ITE did not provide them with an education regarding diversity in terms of 'race'. That is why ITE courses that reflect about 'race'/ethnicity are essential.

The contribution that CRT can bring to both ITE and my study is that CRT uses anti-racist strategies to implement an education of equality to non-white students. CRT also uses reflection as a means to implement an anti-racist education. This suggests that through reflection it is possible to have an ITE that is aware of the inequality that occurs to non-white students in the school system.

Lack of preparedness: teachers' experiences of teaching 'race'/ethnicity

(...) although teacher education is only one part of the system, it plays a crucial part in the reproduction or reconstruction of student-teacher attitudes and understandings which are later reflected in their school and classrooms practices.

(Siraj-Blatchford, 1993: 7)

The accounts that will be presented below show what teachers tried to teach in the classroom related to 'race'/ethnicity, reflected the way that they were prepared to teach by their ITE courses. I examine teachers' lack of preparedness to teach 'race'/ethnicity in terms of the perceived difficulties that they face when applying what they had learned in practice. Teachers were expected to teach across curriculum issues as demonstrated in the Brazilian PCN, discussed in Chapter Two (Brasil, 1998a, and Brasil, 1998b). In the questionnaires I sent to teachers, I decided to break the theme of CPCCT down into sub-themes so that I could be sure what aspects teachers had addressed with their students. According to my data, teachers preferred to teach themes such as environment, English culture, health, labour and ethics. Themes such as religion, sexual orientation, gender and 'race'/ethnicity are those most unlikely to be taught. These results are also confirmed by other researchers in other contexts (Auerbach, 2000; Kanpol,

1994; May, 1999; Norton, 2000; Pennycook, 2001; Sleeter, 2001; Sleeter & Montecinos, 1999), perhaps indicating the difficulty teachers perceive in tackling such issues in the classroom, as shown in figure 6.1 below. The issues inform the themes that teachers worked in EFL lessons.

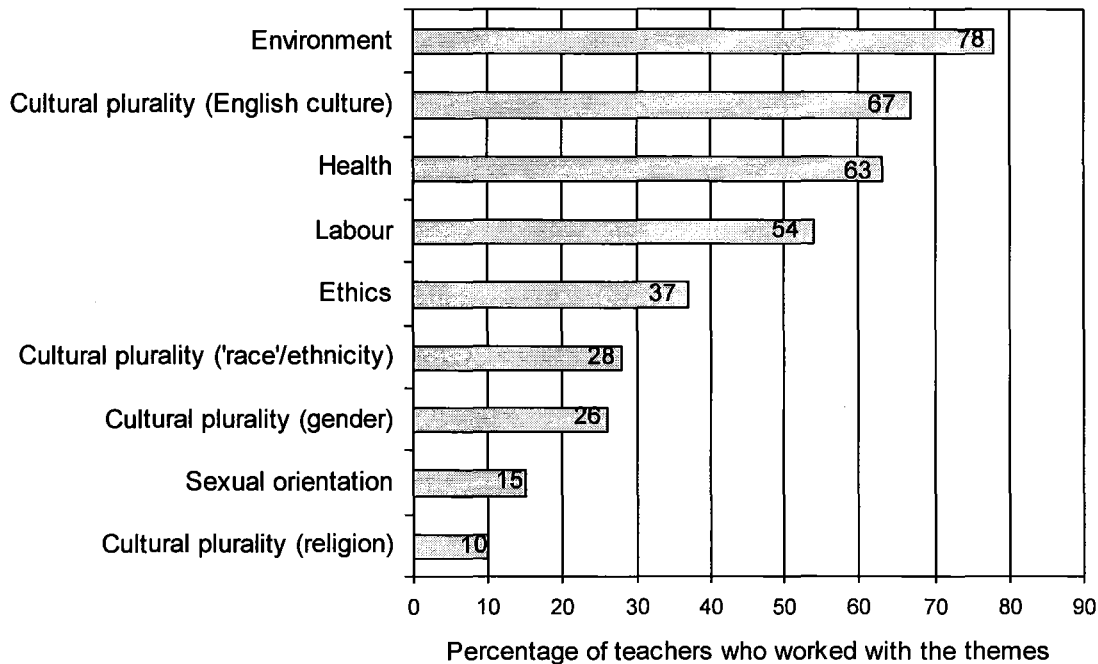


Figure 6.1 Themes taught in EFL lessons

On the theme of 'race'/ethnicity, out of the 46 teachers surveyed, a quarter said that they had taught this issue in class. The aspects that teachers claimed to have taught were:

- Culture, language, ethnic origin, ways of greeting, currency, cognate words (teacher 2 – black); different cultural aspects (teacher 24 – white); festivals of different nations, Halloween (teacher 39 – white); habits (teacher 16 – white); people from several countries who are famous abroad (teacher 9 – white);
- Contribution of Afro-Americans to North American Society (teacher 30 – white); text about Martin Luther King, Abraham Lincoln – American

blacks and their fight for equality (teachers 32 – white, 33 – white and 34 – mulatto);

- Prejudice (teachers 25 – white and 27 – white).

According to the responses, some of those teachers who worked in EFL lessons with the issue of 'race'/ethnicity related their lesson to the icons discussed in the EFL textbooks. The icons in the examples given are related to the USA because EFL teachers in Brazil tend to prefer to illustrate their classes with examples from either North America or from the UK⁴¹. However, Kincheloe & Steinberg (1997, see also Epstein 1995: 62) have questioned the practice of using iconic black personalities to teach history in the USA context:

When non-white history is taught without a critical edge, students gain little insight into the problems facing different peoples in their culture's history and how these problems affected history in general. Black history, for instance, has often been represented in the curriculum as a set of isolated events: slaves as bit players in the larger portrayal of the Civil War; brief 'personality profiles' of (...) Martin Luther King Jr. as the one-dimensional leader of a decontextualized civil rights movement.

(Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997: 231-232)

The quotation above also has implications for teaching practices related to black experiences in Brazil. The aspects which teachers said that they taught in relation to 'race'/ethnicity were very much related to cultural aspects, but there are several ways in which teachers can unwittingly promote forms of cultural imperialism. An example of cultural imperialism in this context would be the fact that, for instance, English language teachers in Brazilian elementary and high schools are usually very concerned about teaching the culture of the countries that speak English as a first language (Moita Lopes 1996). Although this is well intentioned, it may lead to a problem because teachers tend to teach using clichés or stereotypical symbols of culture, such

⁴¹ Moita Lopes (1996: 53) gives the example of recent research concerning EFL teachers in Brazil. To illustrate their classes, teachers make reference to: USA (47 per cent), England (22 per cent) and Brazil (31 per cent). Teachers in Moita Lopes' (1996: 53-54) sample also claimed that the English they teach is more related to American English (70 per cent) and British English (30 per cent). Also, teachers' preference comes first in terms of language pronunciation, according to recent research in the field by Oliveira e Paiva (2000a).

as Halloween, English five o'clock tea, Thanksgiving, Valentine's Day and so forth.

My point here is to show that although teachers often intended to work with the issue of 'race'/ethnicity, the examples that they used in class were often not taken from the perspective of black Brazilian leaders for instance. It could be implied from their lessons that social changes can happen in other countries but not in Brazil, therefore not identifying Brazil with problems of prejudice and racism.

Of course, it is important to have an awareness of the culture of other countries, mainly because what is being discussed here is teaching EFL. Nevertheless, this does not mean that teachers should spend significant time celebrating the 'cultural aspects' of one specific country. Students in Brazil need to learn English as an *international* language in order to talk to, to read about, to understand, and to write to 'the world' – people of all cultures⁴². Hence, it may be considered more appropriate to teach the international cultural role of English in a 'critical sense' and pay more attention to the home country's needs so that students become more 'informed' and are enabled to envisage a more equal society.

Teachers' experiences of teaching the issue of 'race'/ethnicity seemed to be ineffective considering that their experiences in teaching were often related to folkloric aspects of 'race'/ethnicity. If we take the framework of CRT and the reflective model of education of Wallace (1991) and reflective 'race' education of Milner (2003a, see also 2003b), according to teachers' accounts there was no clear evidence of engagement with anti-racist education and reflective teaching in relation to 'race'. In the next section I examine teachers' priorities in terms of continuing professional development and what teachers want.

⁴² For more information about English as an International language see Canagarajah (1999), Pennycook, (1994a, 1994b) and Phillipson (1992).

Teachers' priorities

In this section I will present what teachers consider to be their priorities in terms of continuing professional development (CPD), taking into consideration their past experiences and stated needs.

Teachers' CPD: past experiences

It is important to examine teachers' CPD because it indicates the kind of professional development that they have undergone, and whether CPD can be linked to raising their awareness of 'race'/ethnicity. According to Craft:

(...) professional development and CPD are sometimes used in a broad sense and seen as covering all forms of learning undertaken by experienced teachers from courses to private reading to job shadowing, but are also sometimes used in the narrower sense of professional courses.

(Craft, 2000: 9).

Craft also outlines the reasons why teachers might take professional development courses:

- To improve the job performance skills of the whole staff or groups of staff;
- To improve the job performance skills of an individual teacher;
- To extend the experience of an individual teacher for career development or promotion purposes;
- To develop the professional knowledge and understanding of an individual teacher;
- To extend the personal or general education of an individual;
- To make staff feel valued;
- To promote job satisfaction;
- To develop an enhanced view of the job;
- To enable teachers to anticipate and prepare for change;
- To clarify the whole school or department's policy.

(Craft, 2000: 10)

From the examples provided by Craft (2000), I will examine teachers' CPD choices. From my sample, 83 percent of teachers have a post-graduation

course⁴³ in the field of education. This seems to indicate that teachers are seeking to become as qualified as possible. Another aspect to consider in terms of qualifications is that teachers have an increase in salary if they have such a course. Although teachers might have taken the post-graduation course simply to increase their income, what matters here is that they were taking a post-graduation course in the field of education and have improved their professional knowledge as a result. Of those who took the post-graduation course, a third took it during the period that the PCN was being discussed, and two thirds took it after the PCN started to be implemented in schools. Although a majority of the teachers have taken their post-graduation course during the time that the PCN started to be discussed, or during the time it was being implemented, that does not mean that teachers necessarily discussed issues of 'race'/ethnicity, because their postgraduate courses may not have prioritized these issues.

Training INSET⁴⁴/short courses are another factor mentioned by teachers as forming part of their professional development. This practice is also referred to by Craft (2000) as off-site professional development courses. These are short courses which can last a day, or less, or in some cases longer. The idea of looking for improvement in terms of their professional abilities is implicit in short courses. However, Craft (2000) points out some weakness in this kind of professional development that she refers to as "gaps between theory and practice" (p: 20). She recognizes that:

(...) teachers have often found such courses stimulating both in terms of acquiring new ideas, and also in exchanging experience with those from other schools.

(Craft, 2000: 20)

As Craft suggests, teachers enjoy these kind of activities. I would argue that the fact that teachers find them stimulating relates to Wallace's (1991) 'craft knowledge' model discussed earlier. These kind of short courses are based

⁴³ Diploma – specialization course taken after their teaching degree (post graduation course).

⁴⁴ INSET – Inservice teacher education and training.

in practices that do not allow time for teachers to have a theoretical reflection of what they have learned. Campbell & Whitty (2002), in the UK context, state that, "Research has indicated that such training cannot be one-off short courses, but should be part of ongoing continuing professional development, and ideally, incorporated into early professional development, for example in pre-service teacher training" (p: 109). The contributions of Craft, and Campbell & Whitty above can help to analyse the choices of INSET/short courses made by teachers and shown in figure 6.2 (below).

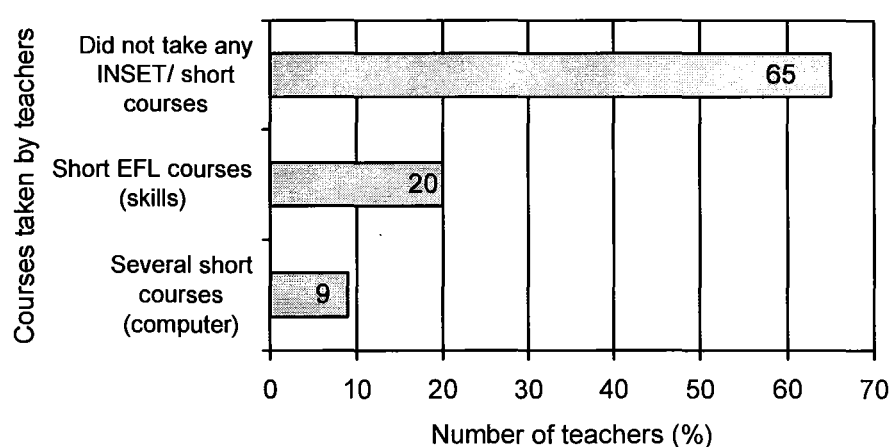


Figure 6.2 Continuing professional development courses

Although one fifth of the teachers in my sample have taken INSET/short courses it appears that they still identify issues of content as priorities for improvement. This also seems to reflect their needs as teachers of EFL to become more proficient in the language that they are teaching. It seems that teachers considered proficiency above all else, as a tool to implement the themes proposed by the curriculum. In addition, EFL teachers often attribute their feeling of professional confidence to language proficiency. Prabhu states that:

(...) deficiencies in the teacher's language is also a process of undermining the teacher's professional self-confidence (...).
(Prabhu, 1987: 99)

The reason for relating teachers' confidence to language proficiency is because it is clear from teachers' accounts that there is a need for skills such as speaking, listening, writing and reading, as discussed earlier in teachers' lack of preparedness. Other studies in Brazil in the field of EFL have found similar findings (Barcelos, 1999; Bastos, 1996; Celani, 2000; Frahm 2000; Ferreira, 2001; Freitas et al., 2002).

Teachers' CPD: stated needs

The accounts provided below, reflect teachers' priorities in terms of improvement. For some teachers (47 percent of my sample), their need for improvement was explicitly in terms of oral skills:

"I want to improve oral skills." (Ame, questionnaire)

"I want to improve my oral skills because I have difficulties in speaking in English." (teacher 10, questionnaire)

"I would like to improve my speaking skills, but unfortunately our work environment (crowded classroom) doesn't allow it." (teacher 11, questionnaire)

"I want to improve oral skills." (Carmen, questionnaire)

"I want to be a teacher that provides interaction and knows how to collaborate. However, what I want to improve in the first place is my proficiency in the language, looking for strategies that are relevant to work with the themes proposed." (Fabia, reflection sheet)

Some are interested in improving issues related to material design and development:

"My priority is in terms of well-designed teaching material." (Elisa, questionnaire)

" I want to be a professional that does not give up on my own ideals. I also want to be a professional who is able to self-analyse my work and find ways to contribute to students' education in the pedagogic and moral aspects. However, I also want to improve in organizing more material that is able to motivate students' participation in the classroom." (Carmen, reflection sheet)

"Development of diverse materials, (...)". (teacher 29, questionnaire)

Some other teachers are interested in improving ways of making students more interested in learning and counteracting disruptive behaviour in the classroom. Hancock (2001) explains that:

The outnumbering of children to teachers results, understandably, in a professional preoccupation with control and the skills that maintain classroom order. Much teacher energy and creativity is directed towards managing and controlling the class.

(Hancock, 2001: 303)

This is understandable because teachers know that they need to keep the classroom *in relative order* so that they can manage to deliver what they had planned (see Chapter Eight). Another aspect to consider is that the number of students per classroom in my study varied from 27 to 35 students. Teachers' accounts relating to improvement in students' behaviour were (see Chapter Eight):

"I want to have more possibilities to apply activities that make students interested." (Daniel, questionnaire)

"I would like to catch students' attention, because it is a very difficult task lately." (teacher 32, questionnaire)

"If the groups of students were smaller (15 students) we could work better." (teacher 30, questionnaire)

"I want to engage with the latest tendencies in teaching, as well as always looking for improvement. I want to improve my techniques in working with speaking and listening skills in the classroom. I have a huge number of students in the classroom and I need resources and techniques to make better use of these skills." (Daniel, reflection sheet)

Some other teachers seem to be interested in improving in the areas related to 'race'/ethnicity:

"I want to improve, to be a critical professional and to be aware of sensitive themes such as 'race/ethnicity'. I will try to help my students more. However, I also want to improve in some linguistic aspects and to improve my planning, to teach, according to themes based on daily life."
(Ame, reflection sheet)

From these accounts it seems that Ame is the only teacher who considers the importance of being engaged with sensitive themes such as 'race/ethnicity'. Some teachers' priorities were in terms of professionalism and their relationship with their colleagues:

"I want to be a competent professional, always trying to improve my teaching. Besides that, the interest should come from myself. However I want to improve my relationship with colleagues in the same field."
(Barbara, reflection sheet)

All teachers identified the need for self-improvement and improvement in skills (speaking, listening, etc.). From this, I would conclude that it appears that techniques related to EFL classrooms are the overwhelming priority for the majority of teachers in my sample. The evidence above conforms to Prabhu (1987), who raises the issue of the standards expected of non-native speakers who teach EFL:

(...) the fact that English is taught by large number of non-native speakers of the language in many parts of the world reflects its status as a world language, and it is necessary at some point to recognise that standards of adequacy for the world language are those which arise from its operation as such, not those which arise from its operation in exclusively native-speaking contexts. Besides, given the fact that most learners of English as a second language can only be taught by non-native speakers, a continuing assumption that native-speaker standards constitute measures of adequacy can only result in a sense of inadequacy in all the classrooms concerned.

(Prabhu, 1987: 99-100)

The important issue raised by Prabhu above, relates directly to what EFL teachers in my study have expressed in relation to their proficiency. Their

needs are above all to be proficient in English, but this proficiency is in terms of 'native-speakers' standards. Research conducted in Brazil reveals the same findings (Consolo, 2000; Coracini, 2000; Ferreira, 2001; Gimenez, 1994; Moita Lopes, 1996). Interestingly, the same *priorities* given by the teachers in this section are the *failings* described by them in terms of their ITE.

Taking into consideration Craft (2000) explanation about why teachers take CPD, in my study, the findings show that teachers take CPD, "to improve the job performance skills of an individual teacher" (Craft, 2000: 10). Although teachers acknowledge the difficulties they had relating to their ITE course, their priorities continue to be primarily in terms of language skills. This raises questions: How much are these teachers really interested in being prepared to reflect about anti-racist education? What is their commitment to anti-racist education? I would suggest that teachers' interest in implementing anti-racist education is subordinate to their first priority, which is to improve their language skills. Perhaps after they have improved their language skills they might be interested in further education on issues such as 'race'/ethnicity. In the next section I examine the barriers teachers face in addressing the issues of 'race'/ethnicity in the EFL context.

Barriers

Over the course of this section I will examine in detail a number of examples of barriers that teachers face in terms of implementing an anti-racist education. These barriers will be examined in relation to: (i) teachers' working conditions and (ii) school and NRE (LEA).

Barriers: teachers' working conditions

Teachers' working conditions are an important factor that can contribute towards them being able (or not) to deliver to students a lesson that is underpinned by anti-racist education. Consequently, it is important in my

study to understand teachers' major difficulties related to their working conditions. In this section I present evidence of: teachers' contracts of work; teachers' working hours, and the number of schools in which teachers work.

In terms of teachers' contracts of employment, there are two different conditions in which teachers in Green city are employed, namely permanent contracts, and temporary contracts (CLT). In my study, 37 percent of teachers were employed on fixed contracts with permanent status. In this context, that means that they have the right to choose their classes at the beginning of the year and the right to be allocated to the school permanently. Teachers in this working situation normally choose the schools that are downtown or next to their homes, and work during the day-time (morning or afternoon).

However, 61 percent of teachers were employed on temporary contracts (CLT). These teachers do not have the priority to choose their school and number of classes according to their needs. They are offered classes subject to the availability of the schools, and their contracts needs to be reaffirmed at the end of each year. This has several implications because teachers never know the amount of classes they are going to have the following year, or the school that they will be working in. Apart from that, teachers working on temporary contracts usually have to work in more than one school to complete their schedule (the number of schools in which teachers work on will be discussed below).

This factor is undoubtedly a barrier for teachers trying to implement anti-racist strategies. Many of them are unlikely to feel a commitment to any one particular school, and therefore they are unlikely to devote time to an issue that they may feel needs much preparation.

Regarding working hours, in my study, teachers' working hours varied from eleven to 40 hours per week, with the majority working from 26 to 40 hours per week. Most teachers aim to have 40 classes per week to maximise their earnings. From my sample, 67 percent of teachers have a large number of

classes per week that varies from 26 to 40 classes. Teachers' periods of work are in different shifts that vary from morning to afternoon and evening. Some teachers even work mornings, afternoons *and* evenings. Writing about the UK context Ball asserts that:

Teachers are confronted by increasing and increasingly diverse workloads which destroy sociability and reduce leisure and self-direction. The range of skills required of them may increase, but time and interaction are also under increasing pressure.

(Ball, 1987: 269)

Although Ball's comments refer to the context of the UK they seem to relate to my findings because it is clear that most of the teachers in my study are overloaded with classes. Certainly this is a factor that counts in terms of teachers having insufficient time for enhancing their knowledge to be able to use anti-racist strategies in schooling. It is important to draw attention to this issue because this raises problems regarding the time required to prepare their classes, and even more importantly, their need to have more time to improve their knowledge about 'race'/ethnicity. Teachers require more time to read more literature and to develop their professional understanding, as well as to get to know their students. As was discussed at the beginning of this section, in order to become reflective, teachers need to read theoretical literature to understand what they have been doing in their own classroom context, or in other words to apply the "knowledge-in-action" (Wallace, 1991: 14).

The large number of schools in which teachers work is another aspect to be considered. In my sample, 46 percent of teachers work in more than one school, as shown in figure 6.3 below. Working in more than one school might also raise some difficulties concerning the time required to prepare for their teaching and to engage in school discussions and commitments. The reason why teachers work in more than one school is related to their working contract (as explained earlier): in other words, it is due to organizational factors. There was an extreme case in my sample in which one teacher

worked in four schools, and almost a fifth of my sample worked in three different schools.

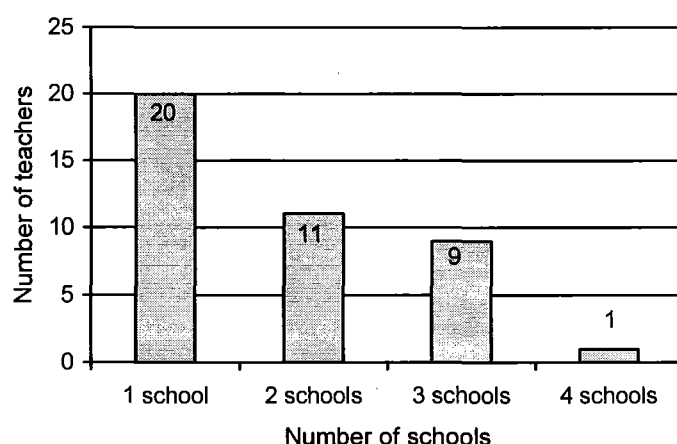


Figure 6.3 Number of schools in which teachers work (5 respondents did not answer)

The information shown in figure 6.3 (above) again raises questions of availability to discuss and implement anti-racist education at the whole school level. It is clear that most teachers in my sample are not implementing anti-racist strategies and it also appears that they do not have time to practice a reflective model of education as suggested by Wallace (1991) and Milner (2003a).

Barriers: school and the NRE

In this section I argue that neither the schools nor the NRE (LEA) were prepared to implement changes in the curriculum. And as result, teachers did not receive the support they required. According to my informants, only 20 percent said that they used the school meetings to keep abreast of information related to teaching. This means that the school as an arena for

teachers to keep up-to-date with information is not occurring. It seems that the schools in which teachers work are failing to use their school meetings to support teachers to implement the new policy documents. In relation to this issue, Ball (again writing about the UK) argues that:

The arena of debate, the staff meeting or key committees, is characterized by the language of policy, by grand rhetoric and purposeful idealism. Here the competing definitions of the innovation are the public context. This is the arena of adoption where significant, but not necessarily binding, framing decisions are made. Limits are set, public policy is fixed. Here contrasts are stark, arguments are simple and to the point.

(Ball, 1987: 39)

Ball goes further, stating that:

(...) the arena of practice is the arena of implementation. Here the decisions made elsewhere must be accommodated. The simple arguments of the debate are invariably overwhelmed by the complexities and messy realities of classroom life. The language employed here is the everyday discourse of pragmatism. The high-flown rhetoric must be adapted to the immediate physical and material constraints of teaching and the problems of survival at the chalk face. (...) Some teachers at least may lack the practical skills or the will to struggle with new meanings, new methods of working or new forms of social relationship. Implementation may provide an opportunity to reassert established practices behind a façade of innovation.

(Ball, 1987: 39)

Applying Ball's statements above, to my data in this study, I would claim that it is evident that schools give very little encouragement in terms of helping teachers to implement what was set out in the PCN. This finding confirms what was found in other recent research by Pinto (1999) in Brazil with teachers in pre-service. Pinto (1999: 199), researched how the courses that prepare future teachers at high school level provide an opportunity to discuss issues related to racial and ethnic relations in Brazil. She used three sources of data for her analysis: curricula, didactic books on four subjects, and teachers who teach the subjects. The books analysed were: history of Brazil, biology, sociology of education, and psychology. Pinto's aim was to observe the contribution of each subject to the understanding and reflection of ethnic

and racial differences. Teachers who participated in her research answered a questionnaire and were interviewed. Pinto (1999: 228), found that some future teachers were aware of issues about ethnic and racial differences. She also found that some of them showed some initiative in the classroom, but very few initiatives were taken up at the school level in terms of incorporating such a perspective. Thus, the initiatives were at an individual level and dependent on the teachers' own interest in the subject.

Some teachers linked the difficulties they experienced to the relationship between the schools and NRE (LEA):

"(...) the pedagogical support we have in school is very much concerned with bureaucratic work." (Ame, interview)

As discussed in Chapter Three, all school staff must be involved if the school is looking for substantive change, and any reform must be systematic. In this way, all school staff can participate in grouping practice, observation of the social climate of the school, working together through assessment practices, and participation in extracurricular activities. Ame highlights the need for whole school involvement in implementing the issue of 'race'/ethnicity as discussed by researchers such as: Cavalleiro, 2001; Connolly, 1998; Epstein, 1993; Gillborn, 1995; Gomes, 1996; Osler & Morrison, 2002, Pinto, 1999; Troyna et al., 1991 and discussed in Chapter Three table 3.2.

Some of my respondents acknowledge the way that their NRE (LEA) and schools treat the issue of 'race'/ethnicity:

"The NRE and schools do not give us support, the teacher is alone. The amount of hours that are given to us to prepare for class is nothing (...). We use our own time to prepare for classes and if we do not do that, we are not going to be considered a good professional." (Ame, initial interview)

"Curriculum planning is very tight. The rules are given in terms of aims and you are tied to them. You have to do the curriculum planning and just write it in the paper just to have it in case the NRE comes to the school. So you do not go beyond that." (Carmen, initial interview)

"The NRE does not offer us courses, I never heard any comments about courses from my colleagues." (Barbara, initial interview)

"Since I started working, the NRE never offered us courses about the theme of CPCCT - 'race'/ethnicity. There was other kind of work, but never related to CPCCT - 'race'/ethnicity." (Fabia, initial interview)

The teachers who feel that the NRE and schools do not offer pedagogical support highlight the lack of pedagogical assistance and the emphasis on bureaucratic work in their schools. It also seems that the planning that occurs in schools is more of a document to be shown to the NRE rather than a real issue to be implemented in classrooms. Carmen's point about the curriculum reveals how the school, NRE (LEA), and consequently teachers, treat the implementation of the curriculum. However, because of lack of support, teachers are failing to implement this policy. Scholars discussing 'race'/ethnicity and curriculum have found similar findings (Apple, 1995, 1999; Epstein, 1993; Halifax, 2003; McCarthy, 1990; Milner, 2003a; Pinar, 1993; Pole, 2001). Although the majority of teachers in my sample said that they were not supported in this aspect, some acknowledge that the NRE at least tries to offer some assistance:

"The NRE already made an attempt to give courses, however there are not frequent meetings. The issue to be talked about in any meeting was always the same, there was never any continuity and the discussion was always bland. I believe that for the NRE, the issue is something new as well." (Carmen, initial interview)

"The NRE sometimes tried to hold seminars but I did not see much commitment from their side." (Elisa, initial interview)

Although space for discussion is provided by the NRE, what is noticeable is that teachers feel that there is lack of continuity and depth of discussion about the issue of CPCCT - 'race'/ethnicity in reality. The implications of the accounts provided by teachers (above), can impact on their work in the school environment in terms of continuity and their commitment to their work. According to these accounts, I would argue that neither the schools, or the NRE, or the teachers' ITE have made a serious attempt to encourage

teachers to use anti-racist strategies in their teaching, as suggested by the ideas of critical race theory.

Implications

From a CRT perspective the results of the barriers shown in this section demonstrate that the system of education promotes inequality to non-white students. This is because the “curriculum represents a form of “intellectual property”. The quality and quantity of the curriculum varies with the “property values” of the school.” (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995: 54). I would argue that because of the poor working conditions of teachers in my study, they reproduce inequality. This inequality is reproduced taking into consideration that:

- 61 percent of my sample work under temporary contract;
- 67 percent of my sample are overloaded with classes;
- 46 percent work in more than one school.

The same teachers above work in schools that are located in the suburbs with a greater concentration of black students than in the centre of city (see Oliveira, I., 2003: 27; Paula, 2003: 187), and consequently the housing conditions of the students are low compared to the students who study at the centre of the city (white students). Considering teachers' working conditions, students in the suburbs will receive a 'different' instruction in the school curriculum compared to the schools in the centre of the city. Table 6.1 below, illustrates the intersection of race and property as exemplified by CRT.

Table 6.1 teachers' working conditions: the intersection of race and property

Schools in the centre of city	Schools in the suburbs
Teachers' working conditions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Permanent contract. • Working in one school. 	Teachers' working conditions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Temporary contracts. • Working in more than one school.
Effects of working conditions in the school <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers more committed. • More time to prepare classes. 	Effects of working conditions in the school <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers less committed. • Less time to prepare classes.
Students <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most are white students. 	Students <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most are black students.
Curriculum <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents can afford to buy textbooks and extra materials. • Parents can participate in school meetings (consequently they demand a more rigid curriculum from the school). 	Curriculum <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents cannot afford to buy textbooks and extra materials. • Parents cannot participate in school meetings (they are less likely to know what is occurring in the school).

Table 6.1 provided above shows that:

(...) intellectual property must be undergirded by "real" property, that is, science labs, computers and other state-of-the-art technologies, appropriately certified and prepared teachers.

(Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995: 54)

From my findings it is possible to draw the conclusion that education can be seen as a way of excluding non-white students and teachers' working conditions is certainly one of the factors that influences this situation.

Conclusion

In this chapter I examined the issue of 'race'/ethnicity in ITE, teachers' ability to address the issue of 'race'/ethnicity, teachers' CPD, and barriers teachers have to confront in implementing anti-racist education. The chapter identified several factors that influence teachers' lack of preparedness to teach CPCCT – 'race'/ethnicity.

First, teachers' lack of preparedness provided by their ITE. It is clear that their ITE did not prepare them to work in a multi-ethnic or diverse environment. Most of their ITE was skills-guided with not enough time allowed for reflection. Second, those teachers who tried to teach the theme of

'race'/ethnicity did not use anti-racist strategies as suggested by some scholars working with CRT.

Third, because teachers received largely skills-guided ITE when they had to look for CPD courses they were primarily geared towards EFL skills. This is due to their need to become proficient in the English language, a factor that seems to be emphasized in ITE.

Finally, it was evident that teachers could not go further in their teaching development in terms of implementing an anti-racist education, due to factors such as their working conditions which did not allow them to be reflective or to look to improve their teaching practice. My data clearly suggest that many teachers are often overloaded with work, and sometimes working in more than three schools at the same time. Another barrier is in relation to a lack of teachers' pedagogical support that fails to provide them with conditions to teach the issue. This was evident because most teachers did not acknowledge the use of school meetings as a resource to keep abreast of information. Consequently, schools are not seen as a forum to discuss the issue of CPCCT – 'race'/ethnicity and also support teachers in its implementation. In addition, the NRE (LEA) does not provide CPD courses to support teachers to implement new policy documents. In the next chapter I discuss the workshop, and examine the reasons provided by teachers for the need of the material development.

CHAPTER 7

THE WORKSHOP

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the workshop and to describe its components. It considers the need for the workshop, and anti-racist materials, and the components of the workshop itself. It argues that because teachers lack time and materials there is a clear need to provide them with opportunities to teach the issue of 'race'/ethnicity so that they can feel confident enough to teach what is often considered a taboo topic.

The teachers in my study claim that they do not teach about 'race'/ethnicity because they do not have the materials and lack time to prepare them. Many of them consider that this is a major difficulty. In addition, my findings indicate that black students are under-represented in the textbooks. The under-representation of these students reveals a hidden curriculum and also demonstrates the way that racism is perpetuated through the school curriculum and instruction.

The other aspect to be explained is the components of the workshop. I divide my accounts of these components into: objectives, methods and outputs, in order to explain the way the workshop was planned. I also introduce the materials which teachers developed during the workshop. My analysis reviews the materials developed by teachers to offer the potential to be used as a tool to teach 'race'/ethnicity that engages with issues of CRT and anti-racist education.

To examine teachers' accounts I continue to use the framework of Critical Race Theory (CRT). Ladson-Billings (1998), draws attention to the aspect of curriculum and instruction. In my study it is important to understand the way that teachers perceive these because this will indicate the way 'race'/ethnicity is included in the curriculum.

The need for the workshop

Researchers who have been discussing textbooks and material development in Brazil after the PCN began to be implemented in 1998 have been particularly concerned about the pedagogic materials at all levels of schooling. Their concerns are mainly related to textbooks that include the social and demographic distribution and culture of black people (Gonçalves & Gonçalves e Silva, 2003). They are also aware that there is a distinct need to improve teachers' awareness, and their production of materials to counteract racism in schooling (Silva M. A, 2001; Cavalleiro, 2001). There is also a need to promote the inclusion of collective manifestations of resistance to racism (Rosemberg et al., 2003). For Rosemberg et al. (2003, see also Moreira, 2002b) there is a need for research that examines textbooks in other subjects apart from History and Portuguese. Gillborn (1995), also emphasizes that "If antiracist approaches are to be fully effective across a school it is necessary for *all* subject areas to acknowledge their responsibilities and take advantage of available opportunities" (p: 132 his emphasis).

This section is an attempt to describe and justify the need for the workshop. In the questionnaire, and through interviews and reflection sheets, teachers' responses indicated the difficulties of discussing the issue of CPCCT – 'race'/ethnicity – in classrooms. Some of these difficulties were discussed in Chapters Five and Six. In this chapter, the difficulties to be examined include not having the appropriate teaching material available and also the lack of time to prepare for their classes, among other factors.

The framework of my analysis in this chapter will be related to the argument of Ladson-Billings (1998) that a Critical Race analysis in education should concentrate on, "curriculum, instruction, assessment, school funding, and desegregation as exemplars of the relationship that can exist between CRT and education" (p. 18). Although Ladson-Billings gives five examples of this

relationship, in my analysis in this chapter I will draw attention specifically to the issues of curriculum and instruction.

In relation to the curriculum, Ladson-Billings argues that CRT, "sees the official school curriculum as a culturally specific artifact designed to maintain a White supremacist master script" (Ladson-Billings, 1998: 18). She associates this master script with stories of African descendants who are "muted and erased when they challenge dominant culture, authority and power" (p. 18). Another aspect raised by Ladson-Billings is that the "race-neutral or colorblind perspective, evident in the way curriculum presents people of color, presumes a homogenized "we" in a celebration of diversity" (p. 18). This means that through textbooks it is possible to understand the role of 'race'/ethnicity in the curriculum.

Concerning instruction, Ladson-Billings (1998), explains that CRT proposes that students of African descent are "deficient" according to the "current instructional strategies" (p: 19). In addition, she questions the way that instruction is conceived, "as a generic set of teaching skills that should work for all students. When these strategies or skills fail to achieve desired results, the students, not the techniques, are found to be lacking" (p: 19). She emphasizes that there is a need for teachers to understand the role of race in education and society because there is a need to, "make racism explicit so that students can recognize and struggle against this particular form of oppression" (p. 19). Tatum (1996), researching in the field of 'race', acknowledges that: "(...) when students are given the opportunity to explore race-related material in a classroom where both their affective and intellectual responses are acknowledged and addressed, their level of understanding is greatly enhanced" (p. 322).

Taking into consideration the CRT definition of curriculum and instruction, I also wish to bring into the discussion the concept of the hidden curriculum. The hidden curriculum is brought into school in the way that the curriculum is constructed and instruction is transmitted. A hidden curriculum of racism can also be considered to be evidence of institutional racism. The term 'hidden

curriculum' used in this context refers to those unspoken values, norms, and ideologies that are passed on to students as 'common sense' about racism, competition, success, discipline, stereotype, gender division, etc (Kanpol, 1994: 34, see also Apple, 1995; Callender, 1997). As Halifax (2003) states, "The definition of 'hidden' implies motives. These can range from deliberate manipulation, to non-recognition, to persistence beyond the original needs, to the irony of unintended consequences and institutional practices" (p. 75).

In the next section I examine the way that teachers understand curriculum and instruction. I focus on their lack of teaching materials and time to prepare them, and also the teachers' lack of confidence to teach what they consider to be a taboo topic.

Teaching materials: lack of material and lack of time to prepare

Teachers know that their students do not have their own textbooks or other material to follow the lessons. In the case of the state schools in Green City, the government provides textbooks to elementary schools (years 5 to 8) in the following subjects: Portuguese, Mathematics, Geography, Science and History. This means that in EFL, with no textbooks provided for students, teachers have to photocopy the material, write it on the board, or ask students to buy it. Sometimes teachers provide photocopies, but teachers have to pay for those from their own pocket. Students rarely have access to photocopied material. That means, for instance, that in EFL lessons, student representation or self-representation through pictures in texts rarely occurs. In my sample, 89 percent of the teachers (in the questionnaire survey) reported that they used textbooks or syllabi which they have prepared themselves to guide their classes. When teachers were asked why they did not tackle the issue of 'race'/ethnicity, most of their concerns related to the lack of material to use in the classroom (see Cavalleiro, 2001; Gomes, 2001; Gomes & Gonçalves e Silva, 2002; Rosemberg et al., 2003; Troyna et al., 1991) and in relation to lack of time (see Grossman, 1994; Campbell & Whitty, 2002; Whitford, 1994).

In the accounts below, teachers clearly demonstrate their need for appropriate teaching materials. For some of them, that need is because they lack time to prepare, due to other duties they have. For example, according to Ame, it seems that her difficulties are not related to preparedness, because she feels prepared to teach 'race'/ethnicity:

"If we have to find material it is very complicated because we have a very busy day. We are not just teachers, we are housewives, we are mothers, wives, you know⁴⁵." (Ame, white, initial interview)

"No, I don't feel difficulty, perhaps I need to research more, read more about the issue. However, I feel prepared, I am not afraid of any theme because my experience helps me. I consider myself not prejudiced, it is easy to teach the issue." (Ame, initial interview)

"I think that the difficulty is perhaps in finding the material (...)." (Ame, initial interview)

"We lack resources, such as an over-head projector, tape recorder, etc." (Ame, reflection sheet)

For some teachers, their difficulties are in relation to support for preparing the teaching materials:

"I don't feel prepared because there is no material so you have to produce it yourself if you want to use it. I don't do that because I am lazy. Also in my free time, after you leave the school with so many problems, you want to relax and take care of your house and children. Mainly because I am a woman and we have to look after our husbands." (Barbara, white, initial interview)

"The difficulty is the lack of material and of organized meetings to prepare, discuss and analyze the materials." (Barbara, questionnaire)

"We always need to be creative and we need to adapt the material developed." (Barbara, reflection sheet)

In the cases of Barbara and Ame, their similarities are in terms of their domestic duties. Their divergence is in terms of preparedness, because it seems that Ame feels prepared to teach and Barbara does not. As I pointed

⁴⁵ Gender has not been central to this analysis, but teachers' ability to develop relates to other social economic attributes such as gender in this case.

out earlier, Ame has 40 classes per week, and she is suggesting that she is overloaded with work, which makes it difficult for her to have time available to find material and prepare her classes. In the case of teacher Fabia, below, her needs in terms of the material are that it should provide space for discussion and debate, and also that she should have something to show to her students. She also points out the difficulty she faces in relation to the lack of pedagogic help:

"My difficulty is because of the lack of didactic material and lack of pedagogic support that we EFL teachers face." (Fabia, white, questionnaire)

"I believe that we still do not have access to materials or have enough books so that we could work with the material, study, have debates. I believe that the difficulty is a lack of material because when you have the material you have the ability to explain the issue to students." (Fabia, initial interview)

Fabia attributes the difficulty to the lack of materials, and in her response it is suggested that it would be possible to teach about the issue with the appropriate material. Apparently, Fabia's statement is a reflection of her own need to address the issue of 'race'/ethnicity. Using the appropriate material could be a way of developing teachers' critical understanding, but as Gundara (2000) states, "teaching material and textbooks are dependent upon the development of appropriate material based on new research" (p: 138, see also Apple, 1998; Sleeter & Grant, 1991; Tomlinson, 2003a). Fabia's statement shows that she does not just depend on her material but also on her own preparation to deal with the material in the classroom setting.

Teaching materials: lack of confidence to teach a taboo topic

In this section I will examine teachers' accounts that reveal a lack of confidence and a fear of teaching taboo issues. Tatum (1996), reporting on the experience of teaching the issue of 'race', found that:

Race is considered a taboo topic for discussion, especially in racially mixed settings.

(Tatum, 1996: 325)

According to Tatum, 'race' is resisted as a teaching topic because it is a taboo topic and people feel afraid of discussing the issues. Tatum also found that because the issue is not generally discussed, "White children quickly become aware that their questions about race raise adult anxiety, and as a result, they learn not to ask questions" (Tatum, 1996: 326). Tatum raises important findings that are related to the findings in teachers' accounts below.

In Carmen's view, her difficulties are in terms of her own preparedness to deal with 'race'/ethnicity. She raises the issue of her own ethnicity as a contributing factor to her difficulties:

"(...) my difficulty, is because you need to feel secure to teach this issue and I am black. Thus, if I am going to present something about black people I need to be self-confident confident, because students can make jokes, and I need to know how to deal with that and not be offended. That is why people often avoid talking about this issue because of the extent to which the teacher feels prepared to accept the joke, challenge it and not be offended." (Carmen, black, initial interview)

"It is difficult to teach because the issue ('race'/ethnicity) is still a taboo issue that creates a big barrier that needs to be broken." (Teacher 8, white, questionnaire)

"Themes like that ('race'/ethnicity) are difficult to teach because they generate arguments, and most of the time we are not prepared." (Teacher 10, mulatto, questionnaire)

It appears that the teachers' fears are related to being exposed in front of students. Carmen clearly expresses her difficulties in dealing with the issue. Although she is black, that does not mean that she is necessarily any more prepared than her white colleagues to teach about 'race'/ethnicity.

In the case of Daniel (below), several issues are raised related to pedagogy and the difficulties of introducing the theme in the classroom. The first is how to start the discussion. The second is how to develop it, because he seems to know what people feel might be said. The last aspect which he raises is the importance of being prepared to deal with 'race'/ethnicity as an issue.

The comment that Daniel makes below in relation to teachers' preparedness conforms to what Ladson-Billings experienced in her teaching about issues of 'race'/ethnicity. She described the experience of one of her students who decided to express her opinion to other colleagues and the teacher. Ladson-Billings (1996a) was aware of "(...) how dangerous it can be for a student to break a silence in such a classroom. Other classmates can ridicule you for your naiveté or worse, and the teacher can dismiss you as uninformed and without any social sensibility or consciousness." (p: 82):

"My difficulties in teaching this theme would be first to break the ice. I believe that when you start teaching with the theme you will make the prejudice come to the surface. I am sure that it is difficult when students have to express themselves and discuss their views: it is going to be difficult to make the issue clear. Students are going to have a view of the teacher, and depending on that view [of the teacher] it is complicated." (Daniel, black, initial interview)

"(...) in the case of children, they are not aware and they end up incorporating this in their discourse, in their jokes. Also parents make jokes about black people, and students incorporate that behaviour automatically. Somebody really needs to do something (...)." (Daniel, initial interview)

"It is difficult because of lack of time, costs, research for material on the Internet, and also photocopying the material." (Daniel, reflection sheet)

The aspects that Daniel indicates relate to the education that children receive at home and how they bring their racist attitudes into the school environment. With the exception of Ame, none of the teachers thought it was easy to teach the issue. In the extracts below, teacher Elisa explains that her difficulties are on two levels:

"There are difficulties, but I was never prepared to deal with the issue. However, with our experience, and with critical eyes, we end up preparing ourselves when the things happen." (Elisa, black, initial interview)

"I try to find material through research. However, it is not easy because we do not have a broad range of material and we lack time." (Elisa, questionnaire)

"Sometimes it is the family of the children (one of the difficulties). Some schools have freedom over this (discussions about 'race'/ethnicity), other schools are strict. So this issue is very delicate. You have to study very carefully how you are going to teach, how you are going to touch on the issue. Even society, because inside the school, you can have some problems, so this issue is very complex, delicate, we need to know how to talk about it." (Elisa, initial interview)

"We need to be critical in evaluating what did not work and what we were not able to teach, and to look for help." (Elisa, reflection sheet)

The difficulties presented by Elisa are first, in relation to the lack of material. Second, she points out what it means to work with the issue of 'race'/ethnicity in Brazil: she raises issues of sensitivity. Elisa knows that she might face problems teaching 'race'/ethnicity in the classroom. These potential problems might include parents coming to her school and complaining that 'race'/ethnicity is being discussed in the classroom. Another potential problem is that of parents questioning why the issue is even being discussed in the first place because, as was discussed earlier, 'Brazil is a colour-blind country'. Also, the school itself is identified as a potential problem because if a difficulty arises the school does not take the responsibility to deal with it and the teacher is often left alone to solve the problem. My evidence shows that discussing the issue of 'race'/ethnicity in the classroom raises implications outside the classroom, and the fear of discussing the issue with students goes beyond the classroom setting. It appears that society plays an important role in this aspect. Touching on sensitive issues could cause problems, either for teachers or schools. Thus, it is clear that involving the whole school and community to discuss how to tackle the problem of racism might be an option, as discussed in Chapter Three table 3.2.

My findings in this section confirm my argument in Chapter Five that teachers' ethnicity is a factor that makes them more sensitive about discussing the issue of 'race'/ethnicity (see Santoro & Kamler, 2001; Callender, 1997; Gomes, 1995; hooks, 1994; Johnson-Bailey, 2001; Morris, 2001; Osler, 1997a; Pole, 2001; Rassool, 1995). In the next section I examine the representation of students.

Black students' under-representation in the textbooks

Textbooks, textbook analysis, representations in textbooks, and material development in relation to 'race'/ethnicity and racism in textbooks, were all the subject of research for some years in Brazil before the implementation of the PCN (Lopes, 1987; Negrão, 1987; Pinto 1987; Santos, 1987; Silva A. C., 1995, Triumpho, 1987). This discussion became more intense after the PCN began to be implemented in 1998 (Cavalleiro, 2001; Gonçalves & Gonçalves e Silva, 2003; Gomes & Gonçalves e Silva, 2002; Pinto, 1999 ; Rosemberg et al., 2003; Silva A. C., 2001, 2002; Silva M. A., 2001). Internationally, the representation of issues related to 'race'/ethnicity in textbooks have also been discussed (Apple, 1998; 1999; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Canagarajah, 1999; Dendrinis, 1992; Sleeter & Grant, 1991; Starkey & Osler 2001; Prabhu, 1987; Phillipson, 1992; Troyna et al., 1991).

In Brazil, researchers have explored the way in which students are represented in didactic material such as textbooks and course books. For instance, in research led by Silva A. C. (1995: 59), the analysis of 82 textbooks of Portuguese for elementary education, used by 146 teachers with students between 1984 and 1986, is presented. In Silva's findings, the representation of black people was stereotypically as slaves. The way that black people were portrayed in the textbooks also implied the idea of intellectually incapable people, disassociated from their own social context such as school, family, church and work. Black people were shown as domestic or farm employees, ugly, bad, and in subservient positions in relation to white people. It is possible that such representation in the textbooks that students were using contributed to lack of self-esteem, rejection of their own ethnic group, exclusion, and dropouts.

In Silva's recent research, 'The social representation of Black people in course books: What has changed?', she analysed what had changed in the 1990s in relation to textbooks (Silva A. C., 2002). She observed a number of transformations: the illustrations of black people now showed them with

middle class status, with families, children taking part in leisure activities, and interacting with other ethnic groups. Black children now had names, went to school, and had lost stereotypical features. Black adults in the textbooks did various activities and took on diverse roles as citizens, interacting with other 'race'/ethnic groups without the emphasis on subservience. Silva believes that the Federal Constitution of Brazil 1988, and the creation of PCN in 1998, were the determining factors in the transformation of the social representation of Afro-Brazilians in textbooks (Silva, A. C., 2002: 4)⁴⁶.

My findings confirm research carried out by Gillborn (1995). Although Gillborn's research was in the context of the UK, there is also a resonance with problems of the under-representation of black students in teaching materials in other countries: "students highlighted the lack of 'cultural' representation of black people in the curriculum" (Gillborn, 1995: 148). Gillborn provides an extract of an interview with Mary, an African Caribbean student in year 8, in which she said:

We learn about Islam and civilization in the Middle Ages and that, but we don't learn about black history or anything like that (...).

(Gillborn, 1995: 148).

My analysis within this section shows how teachers understand representation in textbooks and materials. In the example below, Ame recognises that there is a lack of representation of black people in the material that she brings to class. However, she is aware that it is necessary to find other means to find material that could represent the students that are under-represented in her class:

"(...) I believe that there are related topics that have appeared in EFL references, but still our bibliography is very poor. The books have more issues related to social issues but in a different way, related to culture, costumes, traditions, but moral values are very poorly represented."
(Ame, white, initial interview)

⁴⁶ Law 10639, passed on 09/01/2003, made the inclusion of Afro-Brazilian and African History and Culture in the curriculum, as discussed in Chapter Two and the Conclusion Chapter (Brasil, 2003, 2004a, 2004b).

The representation that is evident is related to English language, culture, habits and costumes, as discussed in Chapter Five, where I examined teachers' perceptions of CPCCT and teachers' preparedness. It seems that the same pattern is repeated here. In other words, the same teachers who said that CPCCT for them would be mainly related to culture and habits are now confirming that there is little or no representation of black people in the textbooks.

Barbara in her comments below, acknowledges that sometimes there are some drawings of 'little Japanese' and 'little brown people' in textbooks but that is not explicit, this means that is not discussed in terms of 'race'/ethnicity. Cavalleiro (2001: 145) notes that when teachers use diminutive terms ('little Japanese' or 'little brown' people), students from racial minorities are likely to feel belittled compared to white students. Consequently, when teachers like Barbara use racial diminutives they are re-enforcing racial stereotypes:

"No, there is not representation of all races. In textbooks and texts we find many things that are related to daily life. Sometimes you find some drawings of little Japanese, or little brown people⁴⁷, but it is just an introduction, nothing explicit." (Barbara, white, initial interview)

Fabia comments (below) seem to agree with those of Barbara, and stress that textbooks talk about European and black people but not about the way that people became racially mixed. Perhaps what Fabia is trying to say is that textbooks do not refer to the way that people arrive at a mixed racial heritage:

"All the races are presented in textbooks. They always talk about the blacks and Europeans but not about the mixture of races." (Fabia, white, initial interview)

Therefore, it is difficult to enable students to become aware of their own ethnicity and challenge them to reflect on where they are in terms of their

⁴⁷ "Japonezinha e moreninha".

racial heritage. This kind of discussion, if done with students, can allow them to reflect about their own ethnic roots. This might also encourage them to refer to themselves not by using shades of colour as discussed in Chapters One and Eight, but by referring to their ethnicity, for example, Afro-descendant or Afro-Brazilian, that is related to their ancestry.

It is very clear from Carmen's statement (below) that textbooks present an image of society that is overwhelmingly white. Her opinion conforms to the analyses of textbooks by Pinto (1999), Rosenberg et al. (2003) and Silva A. C. (1995, 2001 and 2002), who acknowledge that black students are under-represented:

"I think that the textbooks predominantly represent white people. The case of native Indians is not even mentioned (...) black people are shown very artificially, not the black people who suffered and are what they are today. Today black people have achieved a space for themselves and that is not shown. In the textbooks, black people are shown as slaves (...)." (Carmen, black, initial interview)

The examples provided in Carmen's accounts could also be related to hooks' (1994) view that:

(...) racism, sexism, and class elitism shape the structure of classrooms, creating a lived reality of insider versus outsider that is predetermined, often in place before any class discussion begins.
(hooks, 1994: 83)

hooks' idea of the insider and outsider is very much evident when a teacher chooses the material to be used in class. Teachers' own choice of the material used could shape the way that students contribute in the classroom, as well as shaping the students' identity construction. hooks' idea of the outsider and the insider is also related to which students can succeed and which students will fail in the school system. hooks' quote might relate both to overt racism and to hidden institutional racism, in that the absence of issues of race in the curriculum is close to institutional racism. The teachers'

statements quoted above clearly reflect the way that black people are under-represented in the school curriculum.

Teacher Elisa seems to use the strategy of finding other materials to complement what the textbooks do not cover. It appears that she is making an assumption that students do not notice that they are not represented in the textbooks:

"Not all material has all 'races'/ethnic groups represented. To find material that covers part of it (issues about 'race'/ethnicity) we have to look to other materials and complement the didactic material." (Elisa, black, initial interview)

"There are few students who notice that they are not represented. The majority don't notice, they do not have this critical sense. We notice because we have it (...)." (Elisa, Interview)

However, what she does not consider is how many black students would agree with her. The statements provided by the above teachers' narratives conceal what Starkey & Osler (2001: 313) found, i.e. that FL materials do not engage with issues of 'racism, anti-racism and human rights' (discussed in Chapter Three).

My discussion here relates both to the school curriculum, instruction and PCN. On the one hand, teachers give priority to certain issues for discussion in the classroom (see Chapter Six). On the other hand, although the PCN of FL raises the aspect of representation in textbooks (as discussed in Chapter Two), I would argue that the PCN itself marginalizes the issues of 'race'/ethnicity and racism because it remains within the CPCCT. This is not dealt with as a separate policy (as discussed in Chapter Three), and it is too comprehensive. The issue of racism should be discussed as part of the overall school policy to promote equality. I would also argue that, according to my findings, evidence of institutional racism is found in schools through the absence of black representation in textbooks. This absence of representation in textbooks conforms to the argument that the stories of Afro-descendants

"are muted and erased when they challenge dominant culture authority and power" (Ladson-Billings, 1998: 19).

The absence of students' representation in textbooks occurs with the tacit acceptance of teachers because teachers are those who choose the textbooks, (on occasions), and bring them to their classrooms. In the case of EFL, Auerbach (1995), states that "The text is seen to be the backbone of the curriculum (and in some cases, it actually *becomes* the curriculum" (p: 20 her emphasis). Apple (1998) states that:

(...) unlike most other kinds of publishing, textbook publishers define their markets not in terms of the actual reader of the book but in terms of the teacher or professor. The purchaser, the student, has little power in this equation, except where his or her views may influence a professor's decision.

(Apple, 1998: 165-166)

Apple's analysis leads me to question the way that the school system endorses a sense of white-oriented superiority, and it relates to the premise of CRT in relation to the curriculum. Textbooks can be one of the ways of promoting equality in terms of 'race'/ethnicity, although, in the sample of my study this is clearly not occurring.

To sum up, I would argue that there is a clear need for a workshop to support teachers in teaching the issue of 'race'/ethnicity in the field of EFL. Teachers' narratives showed:

- Lack of material;
- Lack of time (teachers have unpaid housework, full time work at school; they are overloaded with classes as discussed in Chapter Six);
- Lack of confidence (because teachers are afraid to teach an issue that is considered taboo and delicate);
- Lack of students' representation in the textbooks (hidden curriculum).

Based on what was discussed above, I proposed a workshop. In the next section I will outline the components of the workshop.

Components of the workshop

In this section I discuss the components of the workshop, namely its objectives, methods and outputs.

The workshop: objectives

(...) teaching materials have the advantage not only of being easily adaptable to particular classrooms but of promoting teachers' professional development over time.

(Prabhu, 1987: 95)

(...) the use of materials development as means of facilitating and deepening the personal and professional development of teachers.

(Tomlinson, 2003b: 1)

These quotes illustrate one of the main reasons for the workshop. The workshop is an opportunity for teachers to come together to resolve their anxieties over material related to 'race'/ethnicity. At the same time, teachers also develop their understanding of the issue in the process of this workshop, that serves as a CPD course. Another aspect to consider is that in English as a foreign language teaching "There is growing interest (...) in anti-racist and all aspects of anti-bias policies and practices" (Corson, 1997: 149) because EFL teachers also need to be up to date with what is being discussed worldwide. As discussed in the last section, teachers voiced a variety of reasons why they felt they could not teach the issue of 'race'/ethnicity in the classroom. These reasons were usually that they did not have material that addressed the issue ('race'/ethnicity) and they did not have sufficient time. Considering their difficulties, the objectives of the workshop were:

- To provide teachers with an opportunity to develop their own material to work on the issue of 'race'/ethnicity.
- To prepare the material, trying to build teachers' confidence so that they were not scared of teaching the topic that they considered taboo.

- To produce their own material and for them to observe how they would feel about teaching the issue.
- To promote teachers' reflection, awareness, and professional development in this area.

Another aspect that the material development can provide for teachers is the possibility of organizing the material according to their students' needs in terms of the difficulties related to EFL:

(...) providing support to the teacher in the form of materials, there is also the need to be aware that materials which are, or made out to be, superior to what teachers can hope to do on their own, restrict the teacher to the role of transmitter of given materials to the learner, and a carrier out of instructions given to him by the materials. This means that the teacher's responsibility is to the materials rather than to learners, and the general effect of such non-negotiable materials is to reduce the degree of teachers' identification with what takes place in the classroom and therefore to reduce the likelihood of teachers' growth from the experience of teaching.

(Prabhu, 1987: 95)

Prabhu's quote indicates that if teachers are more actively involved in the material development process it empowers them. On the other hand, it is not just the fact that teachers have the materials that will provide them with a lesson that challenges students to reflect on their role in society related to 'race'/ethnicity. The role of teacher in relation to the materials is more important because teachers are the ones that will deliver the material to students, that will guide students' discussion that will allow (or not) students to discuss their doubts in terms of 'race'/ethnicity (see Chapter Three). Prabhu's statement supports teachers' accounts of their expectations about developing their own material (described below). As stated previously in Chapter Three, Starkey & Osler (2001: 313), researching the use of FL material in the UK context, noted that materials used in class could be a factor in influencing teaching issues related to racism and anti-racism. When I conducted classroom observations, teachers told me that most texts provided to students are written on the board and students have to copy them. Teachers' opinions about the opportunity to produce their own

materials vary. For some teachers, developing their own material is an opportunity to interact with students:

"It is a way to interact with the theme to be discussed with students and it can provide better interaction with students in relation to 'race'/ethnicity." (Ame, white, reflection sheet)

For other teachers, it is an opportunity to develop materials that are more relevant to students' reality:

"It is an opportunity to re-evaluate some exercises that are done automatically. It is a way to raise issues that meet students' needs. Also, producing material with colleagues we learn other ways of dealing with the same theme." (Carmen, black, reflection sheet)

"It is an opportunity to develop our creativity and have adequate material relevant to students' reality." (Barbara, white, reflection sheet)

"It is an opportunity to reflect about pedagogic practice and to become a teacher/researcher. It is also a chance to get rid of the textbooks and propose materials according to the school's reality and students' needs." (Daniel, black, reflection sheet)

It seems that teachers perceived the importance of developing their own material as a way to improve on reflective skills as stated in the reflective model of knowledge discussed in Chapter Six. The teachers seem also to conform to Prabhu's claim that teachers' developing their own material can make it easier for their students to understand (see Auerbach, 1995). According to Canniveng & Martinez (2003), materials development and evaluation can be considered as "a result of a process that requires an awareness and a deeper understanding of the individual teaching circumstances surrounding theory and practice" (2003: 28).

Teachers' quotes suggest that they are aware of the difficulties regarding textbooks representing students' realities. The teachers' comments also highlight the fact that the exercises in textbooks can be mechanical and that teachers' design of their own material would allow them the opportunity to reflect, exchange ideas with colleagues, and re-evaluate their pedagogic

practice. Developing the material according to students' reality also seems to endorse the findings of the research done in the UK by Troyna et al., (1991). In their analysis of the implementation of anti-racist strategies in schools they recommend that:

Staff development periods should also be geared towards the production of appropriate materials for combating racism and the practices it gives rise to. Materials cannot be 'banked' for indefinite use; nor can it be assumed that all materials are easily (or appropriately) transferable from one context to another.

(Troyna et al., 1991: 54).

Although Troyna et al. have emphasised the need for teachers to participate in staff development with the aim of material development, I would argue that it is difficult to envisage how teachers would have the time to engage in these activities. For instance, school meetings, which could be one of the occasions when this could occur, are not used as a time for teachers to reflect about these matters (as discussed in Chapter Six).

The workshop: methods

The methods chosen were intended to provide teachers with literature to enable them to develop their own material. Taking this into consideration, the readings and discussions suggested are included below:

Task-based learning was the approach used to guide the development of material. Prabhu defines a task as:

An activity which required learners to arrive at an outcome from given information through some process of thought, and which allowed teachers to control and regulate that process, (...) as a task.

(Prabhu, 1987: 24)

Problem-posing was also discussed with teachers. According to Wallerstein:

Problem-posing methodology involves these phases: listening (or investigating the issues or generative themes of the community), dialogue (or codifying issues into discussion starters for critical thinking), and action (or strategizing the changes students envision following their reflections).

(Wallerstein, 1987: 42)

CRT and the Freirean problem-posing method offer teacher educators a way to initiate prospective teachers into discourses and pedagogical approaches that meet the needs of students of color while the prospective teachers learn how to examine their notion of social justice and how it connects to excellence and educational equity.

(Smith-Maddox & Solórzano, 2002: 71)

I also discussed some aspects of problem-solving with the teachers. According to Willis:

Problem-solving tasks make demands upon people's intellectual and reasoning powers, and, though challenging, they are engaging and often satisfying to solve. The process and time scale will vary enormously depending on the type and complexity of the problem.

(Willis, 1996: 27)

I also provided teachers with a text to encourage them to reflect about 'race'/ethnicity in the EFL classroom. The text discussed was: "Language Learning and Anti-Racism: Some Pedagogical Challenges" (Starkey & Osler: 2001). The issue of critical teaching/thinking was also introduced. As Kincheloe & Steinberg (1998) state, teachers who embrace a critical goal "help students develop an awareness of themselves as social agents" (p. 7 see also Shor, 1992). Kincheloe & Steinberg claim that it is crucial that teachers and students become involved in discussions relating to issues from their real life experiences, for instance, understanding the relation between school and 'race'/ethnicity. For these authors, teachers are supposed to work side by side with students, trying to put reflection into practice because reflection about their own reality can help to produce a more equal society. However, this depends to a large degree on how teachers conduct their work

inside the classroom. A more detailed explanation about the schedule of the workshop can be found in Chapter Four on methodology (and appendix 8).

The workshop: outputs

In this section I will examine the outputs of the workshop. These were:

- The production of four units of material to be used with students (although four Units were developed, I will explain only Units 1 and 2, as these were the ones teachers used with their students in my classroom observation). The samples of the materials developed by teachers in full are in Appendix 9.
- Reflection sheets, as explained in the discussion of methodology (Chapter Four – Appendix 7).
- Classroom observation, as explained in the discussion of methodology (Chapter Four – Appendix 3). A full detailed explanation of the outcomes of the classroom observation is in the next chapter.
- Evaluation discussion. A full detailed explanation of the evaluation is in the methodology (Chapter Four). The discussion of the outcomes is in Chapter Nine.

Material development – introduction to Units 1 and 2

The development of the materials occurred in the following manner. From the material which the teachers brought (such as newspapers, magazines, articles, etc), and some which I collected as well, they decided which they would be working with (copies of each item were provided so that each group could have a copy). After we had discussed developing the materials into tasks, teachers built the tasks that each unit would cover.

UNIT 1**WHEN DID THE INDIANS AND RACES OF BRAZIL⁴⁸**

In Unit 1, teachers prepared material that reflected the formation of the Brazilian population. They used a text (available on the Internet) that discussed Native Brazilian Indians, Africans and Europeans (full text in appendix 9, pieces of the text will be used to illustrate teachers' lessons in the next chapter).

UNIT 2**WHEN DID WE HAVE A DREAM⁴⁹**

In Unit 2, teachers prepared material that introduced famous people who fought for black peoples' rights. Martin Luther King Jr., was the main character discussed, and also a poem 'We all have a dream', inspired by his life. Also the lyrics of John Lennon's 'Imagine' were discussed (full text in appendix 9, pieces of the text will be used to illustrate teachers' lessons in the next chapter).

The units presented (above) were designed in tasks (i.e. exercises for students to reflect and solve). An example of the tasks will be given in each lesson in the next chapter (when the lessons are examined, full text is in appendix 9). The activities in the material developed are written sometimes in Portuguese and sometimes in English⁵⁰. This was because this reflects teachers' ways of conducting their everyday lessons (the translations I used in brackets are mine).

⁴⁸ Material developed on 15th June 2002.

⁴⁹ Material developed on 22nd June 2002.

⁵⁰ The tasks presented are exactly the way teachers developed the material. The translations are provided to help the reader to understand the material developed.

During the material production, teachers chose which task they would be working with. They were separated into groups. They made their own decision about which group they would be in and the groups were not separated by ethnicity. Each group was in charge of producing a task with the material provided. After teachers had developed their task, they presented it to the whole group, and it was agreed. At the end of the meeting I collected the material that teachers had prepared as a draft, and I did the word-processing of the material so that it would be ready for them to use with their students. Teachers decided to produce material that would emphasise the skill of reading because their aims would be to follow the PCN of FL advice to work more with reading with the purpose of preparing students to take the entrance examination to university.

As I have explained, teachers produced the tasks. I did the word-processing for them because most of them had many classes and did not have time to do this. This also demonstrates that the workshop was only made possible because of my voluntary commitment and investment in the material (paper, ink, and photocopy). This is also an indication of teachers' lack of time to engage in activities which promote continuing professional development (CPD). It also shows that NRE (LEA) and schools are not contributing to their own CPD (see Chapter Six).

Teachers informed their schools about the workshop in which they were participating and asked their schools for time in terms of some hours per week to participate. However, there was no effort made in terms of school time allowance for teachers. Before the workshop started, I went to the NRE (LEA) and the schools to ask permission for teachers to participate. The workshops were held on Saturdays, in time that teachers had to spend away from their family for their CPD. However, there were some teachers who could not come on some Saturdays because the schools were promoting extra activities in which teachers had to participate, so they missed the workshop meeting. In the workshop for material development, teachers developed four Units (see appendix 9). The examples of the units that are examined in the next chapter (Chapter Eight - materials in use), were only

Units 1 and 2, because those were the units that I observed teachers in class delivering to students the material they developed.

The materials developed by teachers certainly allowed an opportunity to have a group interested in reflection, discussing and learning about how to develop their own material. At the same time, the material could be an instrument to discuss a specific issue that teachers have difficulty with. I am aware that the materials have certain limits, and in the next chapter I make some comments about the limits of the material developed.

Material development and engagement with CRT and anti-racist education

I believe that it is important at this stage of my analysis to examine the engagement of the material developed with CRT and anti-racist education. This means that I need to enquire whether the tasks proposed by the teachers in the materials they developed use the strategies of problem-posing, problem solving and reflective thinking. In Chapter Three, I included Table 3.2 'Issues suggested to be considered in schools working towards CRT in the light of anti-racist education'. In that table, under the aspect of the curricular strategies I suggested that they should develop material that gives space for teachers to adapt to students' reality. In this section, I include a table (7.1) that shows the features that CRT and anti-racist material should have, and the way that the material developed by teachers engaged with CRT and anti-racist perspective. The examples of the units highlighted below are the examples of the units I observed teachers teaching and the units are examined in the next chapter, materials in use (see appendix 9, full unit).

Table 7.1 Requirements for CRT and anti-racist material

Requirements for CRT and anti-racist education	Examples of the issues highlighted in the material developed, that demonstrates engagement with CRT and anti-racist education
1. For the critical race theorist, social reality is constructed by formulation and the exchange of stories about individual situations. These stories serve as interpretive structures by which we impose order on experience and it on us (Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995: 57).	Unit 1- Task 2 (Africans) They were brought to Brazil to work in the sugar cane industry, mines and coffee plantations.
2. Anti-racism challenges definitions of "valid" knowledge and interrogates how knowledge is produced and distributed, both nationally and globally (Dei, 2000: 34).	
3. Anti-racism questions the marginalization of certain voices in society and the delegitimation/devaluation of the knowledge and experiences of subordinate/minority groups (Dei, 2000: 34).	
4. Anti-racism questions the roles that societal institutions (school, home/family, museum, workplace, arts, justice and media) play in reproducing inequalities of race (...) (Dei, 2000: 34).	
5. Anti-racism acknowledges the pedagogic need to confront the challenge of diversity and difference in responding to minority concerns and aspirations (Dei, 2000: 34).	Unit 2 – Task 1 (2) Besides Martin Luther King, what other known people in history fought for racial rights in Brazil and in the world? And why?
6. Anti-racism education is transformative learning in the sense of promoting an education agenda for social change (Dei, 2000: 35).	
7. Anti-racist materials are being produced that address a wider range of issues through black experiences and achievement; for example, describing prominent black figures in science and the humanities" (Gillborn, 1995: 149).	
8. Anti-racism seeks to comprehend racist events and racialized practices by asking critical and destabilizing questions from the stand point of both marginalized and the privileged (Dei, 2000: 35).	Unit 1 – Task 3 (a) What about you? What is your opinion about the mixture of races?
9. CRT exposes the color-blind position to the light. Through narratives and other historical evidence, (Parker, 1998: 49).	
10. Anti-racist educational practice is the pursuit of interactive and co-operative learning strategies that teach all learners critical thinking skills to questions the status quo (Dei, 2000: 37).	
11. One of the major principles of Critical Race Theory (CRT) is that peoples narratives and stories are important in truly understanding their experiences and how those experience may present confirmation or counter knowledge of the way society works (Ladson-Billings, 1999: 219).	Unit 1 – Task 3 (c) What is your origin? (d) How do these three ethnic groups live today? What are their achievements? What are their problems? How to solve their problems?
12. Anti-racist materials should include ethnic minority voices, not just to demonstrate their successful integration, but also to describe conflicts and struggles, including successes (Starkey & Osler, 2001: 328).	
13. Anti-racist materials should inform where characters from an ethnic minority are introduced, present them in a context that shows them as complex, dignified and genuinely equal (Starkey & Osler, 2001: 328).	

The material developed by teachers engaged with issues of CRT and anti-racist education. However, it would only be possible to know if teachers

provide CRT and anti-racist education for students at the moment of delivering the material that had been developed. This is examined in the next chapter.

Implications

For CRT, the curriculum and instruction are the means that teachers use to teach anti-racist education in the school environment. According to Ladson-Billings (1998), "The idea of equal opportunities was associated with the idea that students of color should have access to the same school opportunities, i.e. curriculum, instruction, funding, facilities as White students" (p. 17). I would argue that because of the difficulties in terms of adequate teaching material, teachers unintentionally promote inequality. The ways that teachers promote inequality are due to their difficulties in terms of:

- Lack of material (textbooks and resources in general, such as: OHP, tape recorder, TV);
- Lack of black students' representation in textbooks;
- Lack of time.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that because teachers have to confront several difficulties they have not taught the issue of 'race'/ethnicity. This chapter has identified some findings in relation to difficulties relating to materials.

It is clear that because teachers do not have materials and lack time and self-confidence, they do not teach the issue of 'race'/ethnicity. It is also evident that in reflecting on the reasons for not teaching the issue of 'race'/ethnicity, black teachers' reflections went beyond the lack of material. These teachers tended to be more sensitive in relation to the issue, most of them acknowledging that 'race'/ethnicity is a taboo issue and that this reinforces the difficulty. All teachers were aware of the lack of representation of black students in textbook materials.

I examined the material developed by teachers in the workshop and I found that it is a potential material to teach 'race'/ethnicity that engages with issues of CRT and anti-racism education. However, detailed examination of the material will be provided in the next chapter when teachers use the material in their lessons. In the next chapter I will examine the issues that arose from the development of the material and the material in use.

CHAPTER 8

MATERIALS IN USE

This chapter examines the issues arising from the use of materials produced by the teachers and applied by them in their teaching. To analyse teachers' accounts I will continue using the framework of CRT which will help me to analyse the 'story' of each teacher teaching the issue of 'race'/ethnicity. I am using the term 'story', because within the framework of CRT, "stories, parables, chronicles, and narratives are powerful means for destroying mindset-the bundle of presuppositions received wisdoms, and shared understandings" (Delgado, 2000a: 61). I believe that observation of teachers working in the classroom can demonstrate or 'tell a story' about the way that they deal with the topic of 'race'/ethnicity. Research carried out in the UK (Connolly, 1998; Gillborn, 1995; Gilroy, 1992; Hall & Garrison, 1985), in the USA (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995), and in Canada (Dei, 2000), shows that there has been much discussion of strategies to teach anti-racist education. However, in terms of observing teachers teaching there is a need for more research in this area because that is where it is important to observe the pedagogy used to teach (Gillborn, 2000a: 1518; Lawrence & Tatum, 1999; Schick, 2000: 86; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001: 480; Starkey & Osler, 2001: 328; Troyna et al., 1991: 52).

Materials in use

In this section I bring into the discussion the issue of pedagogy and content as a framework to examine teachers teaching 'race'/ethnicity. Gillborn states that:

Writing on education and ethnic diversity (in the UK, the US and elsewhere) has tended to neglect questions of pedagogy and lived experience at the school and classroom level.

(Gillborn, 2000a: 1518)

The issue of pedagogy is crucial because it is the way in which teachers deliver lessons to students that is going to make actions possible. In other words, it is not just a question of having material on the issue of 'race'/ethnicity, but it is the way in which teachers *use* that material that will prove the most significant. Starkey & Osler claim that:

Successful anti-racist teaching depends on a sensitive relationship between the materials and the teaching method. The materials are, of course, crucial. However, without an appropriate pedagogy, its exploitation may be limited in effect or even counterproductive.

(Starkey & Osler, 2001: 328)

Troyna et al., also argue that:

(...) it is important to sensitise staff to the ways in which delivery shapes content. Equally important is the matter of how lecturers might handle controversial issues with the students.

(Troyna et al., 1991: 52-53)

For too long, a concern with content has distracted attention from pedagogy in discussions about anti-racism in education. We are committed to the view that the two elements of the model should be interdependent and compatible.

(Troyna et al., 1991: 53)

CRT also provides a way of developing this discussion for critical race theorists. Pedagogy is one of the important aspects that contribute to students' education so that they can become critical thinkers. In Solórzano & Yosso's opinion, CRT is:

a framework or set of basic insights, perspectives, methods, and pedagogy that seeks to identify, analyze, and transform those structural and cultural aspects of education that maintain the subordinate racial positions.

(Solórzano & Yosso, 2001: 480)

Taking into consideration the contributions of the scholars above, I have provided table 8.1 (below) adapted from Gillborn's (1995) study, "Racism and Antiracism in real schools" to guide the analysis of teachers' lessons.

Table 8.1 Characteristics of anti-racist education lessons

1. In anti-racist education the teacher encourages students to say whatever they have heard or think about an issue without being too guarded for fear of others' interpretations (Gillborn, 1995: 145).
2. Anti-racist education goes beyond an interest in 'culture' and 'difference', and involves an active challenge to negative assumptions and inequitable treatment (whether by peers or teachers) (Gillborn, 1995: 154).
3. Anti-racist education should have lessons that offer a voice to all students, allowing them to explore racism from different perspectives (Gillborn, 1995: 142).

The next section examines teachers applying the material developed in the workshop. Each teacher was observed for a period of two lessons (1:40 min) on the same day. The intention of observing teachers' lessons was to understand how they would teach the material that they had developed. I will provide some examples of interaction between teacher-students and between student-student, discussing 'race'/ethnicity in EFL lessons. I will also provide the context 'setting' in which teachers were teaching, showing samples of the material they taught in that specific lesson. I asked the teachers to gather information about the ethnicity of their students, and that of the students' parents and grandparents, so that I could have some data from students regarding this aspect. I will make an attempt to categorize teachers' priorities in the lessons in the examples that follow.

Lessons that tell stories

I classified teachers' lessons into several 'stories' that occurred during the classroom observation. I am using these 'stories' as dominant narratives. I have classified the six into reproductive and counter-reproductive stories. Five of the stories were reproductive, as follow: Colour-blindness; The right strategy or technique; Interrogation; Ticking the 'race' box, and There is only one history of Brazil. One of the stories is counter-reproductive, that is: 'Race' is always present:

Most who write about storytelling focus on its community-building functions: Stories build consensus, a common culture of shared understandings, (...). But stories and counterstories can serve an equally important destructive function. They can show that what we

believe is ridiculous, self-serving, or cruel. They can show us the way out of the trap of unjustified exclusion.

(Delgado, 2000a: 61)

Each teacher in my study provides a dominant story about 'race' in Brazil through their practice - their way of teaching. Their way of teaching can send several *messages* to their students that reflect teachers' social context. I will be the storyteller of each lesson through my analysis of each class that I observed. Bell states that:

(...) stories are not simply individual productions but cultural and ideological as well. Because we produce and communicate stories within a social context, the stories we tell are those that are 'culturally available for our telling' (Ewich & Silbey, 1995) and so reflect and reproduce existing social relations. This is as true for the subject of race/racism as for any other topic of storytelling.

(Bell, 2003: 4)

I agree with Bell, because when teachers in my study taught the issue of 'race'/ethnicity in class almost all of them in one way or another reproduced existing social relations despite the workshop provided on the issue. Consequently, the way in which teachers taught, at the same time told their 'story' of their teaching, and at the same time reproduced "existing social relations". The discussion I will provide below is about each teacher teaching the issue of 'race'/ethnicity. In the analysis I provide the way that teachers' teach the content of 'race'/ethnicity, I am not at any moment criticising the teachers personally. Instead, I point out the lacks of their ITE courses and NRE that did not prepare them to deal with such issues. I point out teachers' working conditions because most of these teachers work in more than one school as a full time teacher (40 classes per week) and with an average of 27-35 students per class, as discussed in Chapters Five and Six. I also point out the socio-cultural context, of which each teacher is part. Because they live and work in the specific context, which is Brazilian society, it is almost inevitable that they will reproduce their socio-cultural context through their lessons. I will demonstrate the limitations of teaching a sensitive issue such

as 'race'/ethnicity if teachers are not adequately prepared and I will demonstrate also some possibilities of teaching the issue of 'race'/ethnicity.

Reproductive storytelling

Colour-blindness

Setting: Teacher Fabia's lesson was on 4th July 2002. Her lesson was in the morning shift with year 8 students. The teaching material was applied with 31 students, of which 19 were female and 12 male, and 16 students classified themselves as white. Of these, five students were Afro-descendants according to the information that they had provided about their family, 13 were mulatto, and two students were 'other' (morena – [brown - female]). In the school where Fabia teaches there were 61 teachers, only one of whom was black.

In terms of organization of the physical space, in Fabia's classroom there were six students in pairs and the others were in rows. She brought with her the material developed in the workshop and a tape recorder. Fabia taught Unit 2, the topic of which was about black celebrities. She started the lesson by saying in English, "We are going to read a poem today", and then she distributed the material to the students. She asked in Portuguese if all of them knew the meaning of, "We all have a dream". Then she asked them to try to guess the meaning of the phrase. Some of them tried to answer and she asked the following questions:

Teacher: Do you know who Martin Luther King was?

Students: Yes.

Student 1: He fought in favour of black peoples' rights.

Teacher: Now we are going to listen to the song "Imagine" by John Lennon.

While she was locating the song in the tape, the teacher asked them to find the cognates in the lyrics (words similar to Portuguese in writing and meaning). She answered some students' questions in relation to the meaning

of the words and students sang the song. Afterwards, she asked her students to look at the material set out in the box below.

PRE-TASK

1. Você acredita que através de um sonho é possível mudar a realidade? [Do you believe that through a dream it is possible to change reality?]
2. Você já ouviu falar sobre Martin Luther King? [Have you ever heard about Martin Luther King?]
3. Nos dias atuais ainda há necessidade de sonhar com a igualdade entre brancos e negros? Por quê? [Nowadays is there still the necessity of dreaming about equality between whites and blacks? Why?]
4. What is the issue of the song "Imagine" by John Lennon?

Figure 8.1 Unit 2 - Pre-Task

Fabia asked question number three of the pre-task (above) and the students gave the following answers:

Student 1: All of us are equal, it does not matter what colour they are.

Student 2: Some people say that they are not racist, but it is hidden.

Another student gave an example about a specific case of racism that occurred, in a supermarket in Green City:

Student: A case of racism happened in the supermarket some time ago.

Teacher: All of us are equal and the colour of the skin does not matter. At the end (when we die) we all go to the same place.

Afterwards, the teacher went on to the next activity. The point I would like to stress here is that Fabia could have taken the example of racism provided by a student and discussed it with the whole class, relating it to the proposed issue. This moment was one of the most revealing in the lesson related to the theme of 'race'/ethnicity. Students made their contributions relating to their own personal experiences when one of them said "some people say that they are not racist, but it is hidden", and in the case of the other student who

raised the issue of what happened in the supermarket in Green City. However, their suggestions were not acknowledged and the response they got from one of the students (and reinforced by the teacher) was "All of us are equal and the colour of the skin does not matter. At the end (when we die) we are all go to the same place". It seems that Fabia's comments should be viewed in the light of Banks' observation below:

A statement such as "I don't see color" reveals a privileged position that refuses to legitimize racial identifications that are very important to people of color and that are often used to justify inaction and perpetuation of the status quo. If educators do not "see" color and the ways in which institutionalized racism privileges some groups and disadvantages others, they will be unable to take action to eliminate racial inequality in schools.

(Banks, 2001, 12)

My discussion throughout this study is about finding ways to teach anti-racist behaviour to students using anti-racist strategies. However, the behaviour of Fabia (as a well-intentioned teacher) and others tends to silence non-white and white students and prevent a discussion of the issue of 'race'/ethnicity. It also seems that Fabia's behaviour conforms to Johnson-Bailey's (2001) study in which she states that:

An avoidance of the subject by adult educators takes on a colour-blind stance and does not recognize differences in the lives and circumstances of people of colour as groups designated as distinct and inferior by a hierarchically conscious hegemonic Western society.

(Johnson-Bailey, 2001: 91)

Both Johnson-Bailey, and Banks' statements illustrate the avoidance of in-depth discussion of the issue of 'race'/ethnicity as seen in Fabia's behaviour (see also Freire & Macedo, 1999; Schick, 2000; Tatum, 1996). Sleeter (1993), in her study, "How white teachers construct race" found that "White teachers commonly insist that they are "color-blind": that they see children as children and do not see race" (p. 161, see also King, 1994: 338). Interestingly, it was the same teacher (Fabia) who raised the issue that

people are reluctant to discuss racism in-depth when she was interviewed (see Chapter Five). When the class finished, Fabia asked me:

"Was it what you wanted? Did I do it correctly? Did you see that they participated? In reality the students are not used to discussing these themes. They are used to discussing grammar. That is what they need. They are very behind in the lesson, these students have many difficulties."

Fabia's comments above, demonstrate very clearly her priorities in terms of teaching EFL. Another aspect to consider is that Fabia was worried about my observation because she asked if I was pleased about what she had done. Goffman (1995), might explain her behaviour as preservation of 'face' when one professional is being observed by another. Her worries also seem to suggest an underlying insecurity about the issue.

From a CRT perspective, Fabia's lesson is an excellent example of 'colour-blindness':

Critical race theory offers a framework that would attack seemingly neutral forms of racial subordination, while counteracting the devaluation of minority cultural and racial institutions in a color-blind society.

(Parker & Stovall, 2004: 174)

It seems that Fabia was not aware of the implications of her own avoidance of a proper discussion about racism. I noticed from students' responses during her lesson that they were eager to participate. They attempted to contribute and were silenced by Fabia. It seems that Fabia's lesson did not have the characteristics of an anti-racist lesson because students were not encouraged to say what they felt, and due to the teacher's behaviour they were not heard (see table 8.1 above). The students' voices were not heard. This is crucial because "The 'voice' component of CRT provides a way to communicate the experience and realities of the oppressed, a first step in understanding the complexities of racism (...)" (Ladson-billings, 1998: 14). In Fabia's lesson, 'the voices' of her students were not used as an instrument to enrich the discussion in relation to 'race'/ethnicity.

The hidden message of the lesson

That people should avoid discussing sensitive issues, and not challenge what is already constructed in terms of the status quo because they will not be heard.

The right strategy or technique

Setting: Barbara's lesson occurred on 25th June 2002. Her lessons were in the afternoon shift with year 8 students. The teaching material was applied with 35 students, of which 12 were female and 23 male. Of these, 14 students classified themselves as white. Eight of these students were Afro-descendants (according to the information that they had provided about their family) four were black, 14 were mulatto, one was Brazilian native Indian and two were 'other' (moreno – [brown - male] and morena normal – [normal brown – female]). In the school where Barbara teaches there were 35 teachers, none of whom were black.

In terms of organization of the physical space, in Barbara's classroom there were students in pairs and the others were alone. She brought with her the material developed and chalks. She started the lesson by saying that they would study a paper, and that students would be assessed on the activity given in this lesson (I believe that Barbara used this as a strategy to make students quieter). She did not explain the purpose of the material. She distributed the material developed. Barbara showed them the first page of the material and asked them to use a dictionary to translate the first text into Portuguese (Unit 1 - shown below – full text in appendix 9).

UNIT 1

THE RACIAL SOURCES AND RACES OF BRAZIL⁵¹**Indians**

There are three basic racial sources for the Brazilian people. To the original inhabitants (Indians) were added successive waves of Europeans (mainly Portuguese) and Africans (mostly from the sub-Saharan west coast). In the 16th century, the area which is now Brazil was inhabited by several hundred indigenous tribes who, while racially similar, spoke different languages and had different cultures. Groups speaking the Tupi and Guarani languages lived along the coast and in the adjoining hinterland and they established intermarriages with the Portuguese settlers. Today Brazil's native Indians number about 250,000. They are divided into roughly 200 groups and they speak some 180 different languages. The Indians live in vast areas (328,185 sq. miles [850,000 sq. km]), equal to ten percent of Brazil's total territory, which has been set aside for them by the Federal Government. In these areas, which total over three times the size of the United Kingdom, the Indians are free to preserve their life-style.

(Adapted from <http://www.brazilbrazil.com/morena.html>, 15/06/2002)

Figure 8.2 Text Unit 1

However, in the workshop teachers had agreed to firstly make students aware of what the text would be about by carrying out a pre-task. Instead of this, Barbara started translating the first text, word by word. Then she wrote on the board the words "there is" and "there are" and asked the students their meaning (i.e.: in the first sentence of the text). As they did not answer she wrote the meaning on the board and told them: "I already taught you this". She took some words from the text, wrote them on the board and asked them the meaning of words such as: 'people' and 'speak'. Some students answered her. I noticed that the students were quite interested at first, but as soon as she started explaining the grammatical aspects of the text they lost interest and started talking to each other. Students were not challenged to understand the text in terms of discussing the theme 'race'/ethnicity in a personally engaged way.

During the workshop, one of the teachers' complaints was about the level of noise made by students during lessons. However, Barbara's students were quiet and manageable. I also noticed that she had not prepared the material because she started asking me the meaning of some of the words in the text. Afterwards, she asked the students to be quiet, saying that only those who

⁵¹ Material developed on 15th June 2002.

were in the front of the class were paying attention. However, she was not looking at the others at the back of the classroom and only looked at them to call their attention. She said:

Teacher: I want to know how you are going to answer this (pointing to the questions).

During the lesson, students were looking for words in the dictionary to translate the text. The bell rang and students started going home. At the end of the class I told the teacher that the students had been quiet, that their behaviour during the class had been very good, and she could build on that. She responded in the following way:

Teacher: So you liked the class? I was a bit worried. You see, the students did not say anything about 'race' or against black people.

The example of this lesson seems to conform to what was discussed in Chapters Three, Five and Six. By this, I mean that content-guided lessons are very common in classes given by EFL teachers. Perhaps this is not surprising because this specific teacher reported that her ITE course was very grammar-based (see Chapter Six). Nevertheless, she also mentioned that in her view, EFL was not just about translation, but also about empowering students.

From a CRT perspective, Barbara's is an excellent example of "*the* right strategy or technique". According to Ladson-Billings, classroom teachers are engaged in a never-ending search for:

(...) "*the* right strategy or technique" to deal with (read: control) "at-risk" (read: African American) students. Cast in a language of failure, instructional approaches for African American students typically involve some aspect of remediation. This race-neutral perspective purports to see deficiency as an individual phenomenon. Thus, instruction is conceived as a generic set of teaching skills that should work for all students. When these strategies or skills fail to achieve desired results, the students, not the techniques, are found to be lacking.

(Ladson-Billings, 1998: 19, her emphasis)

My findings in Barbara's lessons confirm Ladson-Billings discussion, in the light of the worries that Barbara had about the grammar content to the lesson, despite the fact that the purpose of the lesson was to discuss the issue of 'race'/ethnicity. However, that discussion did not occur. In terms of table 8.1 she did not encourage students to discuss the issue, and her students' voices were not heard.

The hidden message of the lesson

The message of the lesson is that getting the grammar right is more important than exploring deeper issues.

Interrogation

Setting: Ame's lesson occurred on 25th June 2002 in the afternoon with year 8 students. Of her group of 27 students, eleven were female and 16 male. Of these students, 15 classified themselves as white. Five of these students were Afro-descendants (according to the information that they had provided about their family), one was black, four were mulatto, seven students were 'other' (two moreno – [brown - male], one was moreno claro [light brown - male], three morena clara [light brown - female], and one was of German & Spanish descent – male). In the school where Ame teaches there were 45 teachers, none of whom were black.

In terms of organization of the physical space, Ame's classroom was only used to teach, English and the room was decorated with English sayings and students' papers. There were also lots of Brazilian flags on the walls because of the soccer world cup that was taking place at that time, and the inscription in the middle of the Brazilian flag 'Ordem e Progresso' [Order and Progress]

was written in English. The desks were in rows, and students were in line. When Ame started the lesson, students joined with their colleagues in threes, twos, and some of them stayed alone. She used the material developed and chalk and the black board. Ame started the lesson with a proverb, which she translated into English. She then gave the students the material and asked them to start reading the text. The questions were asked, and some of the students responded, but not all students were participating because the classroom was quite noisy.

Afterwards Ame carried on with the lesson, which included task 3 below.

TASK 3

1. REFLECTION

- a. What about you? What is your opinion about the mix of races?
- b. What is the name given to a person who has an Indian father and an African mother?
- c. What is your origin?
- d. Como vivem hoje esses três grupos étnicos? Quais suas conquistas? Quais seus problemas? Como sanar os problemas? [How do these three ethnic groups live today? What are their achievements? What are their problems? How to solve their problems?]

POST-TASK

HOMEWORK

- a. Draw your genealogical tree

Figure 8.3 Unit 1 - Task 3

While she was conducting the reflection exercise Ame asked students, 'What is your origin?' As there was a silence in class she asked:

Teacher: Do you have native Indian in you family, Pedro?

Teacher: You don't know?

Teacher: You have to talk to your parents. So that you can know your roots, students. You have to know if your grandparents were Italians, Indians, Blacks, Europeans.

Teacher: Those ones who don't know their roots should ask their parents.

Because the students in Ame's classroom were quite noisy, and she did not receive the answer she was expecting, it seems that she adopted a position of interrogator. Gillborn states that:

(...) materials and ideas tend to be of variable quality, and all require care and sensitivity in their use (...).

(Gillborn, 1995: 132).

By adopting the role of interrogator, it seems that Ame unwittingly exposed those students who did not know much about their ethnic background. Students often have limited knowledge about their ethnic background because of the way that society and schools treat minority students. As I discussed earlier in Chapter Seven, black students are not represented in textbooks⁵². Consequently, schools have an important role to play in helping black students to understand their ethnic background because they were oppressed for such a long time. It seems that from the way that Ame conducted the discussion she adopted the role of oppressor by interrogating her students, exposing their lack of knowledge and making them feel guilty for something that was not their fault. However, Ame did not reflect that the minority black students' ignorance of this issue is due to the fact that they may not have been allowed to have knowledge about the issue. In contrast to Ame's experience, Gillborn (1995: 139) provides an example of students in year 7 and 8 in his study, in which he observed the way teachers conducted an anti-racist discussion with students:

The course starts with general issues about difference and 'prejudice', without any explicit emphasis on 'race'. The work is structured to try to engage the students' own interests and experiences, to give them confidence in expressing their own perspectives and to relate things that have happened to them. This does not, however, mean putting the black, Asian and other minority students on the spot – presenting them as some kind of 'exhibit' that represents their entire community.

(Gillborn, 1995: 139)

⁵² It was only in 2003 (Brasil, 2003, Brasil, 2004a, 2004b) that the integration of black history and culture in the curriculum became compulsory.

Gillborn goes on to argue that teaching the issue of racism/'race' if not well addressed, "no matter how well-intentioned, can embarrass and alienate minority students, serving to reinforce (rather than deconstruct) existing racial stereotypes and conflicts" (Gillborn, 1995: 139). It was certainly not Ame's intention to make her students feel embarrassed, however, her inability to deal with the issue in the way that she questioned the student Pedro and subsequently the rest of the group, put them in a difficult position in front of their peers (see table 8.1).

Another important point to consider is that she addressed some ethnic groups by their country of origin or continent but when she was referring to black people she did not refer to them as African-descendants, or when referring to Indians she did refer to them as native Brazilian Indians. This clearly shows another aspect of the way that Brazilian teachers reproduce 'social existing relations'. In Brazil it is not common to ask Afro-descendants about their ethnic background. However, in the place where this research took place, people frequently refer to themselves as being descendants of Italian, German, Polish, Portuguese or Spanish. That might be the reason that she was able to name Italians and Europeans. The point to stress here, is that when she had to refer to black people she was unable to refer to them as Afro-descendants, Afro-Brazilians, or native Brazilian Indians. This example reflects the way that Ame took white as a norm to refer to Brazilian people. Another aspect to consider in Ame's accounts is the importance that she gave to European descendants, of which she named two (Europeans, Italian). This type of attitude is likely to suggest to non-white students that they are "ignored" or "subjugated". The example provided by Ame seems to have similarities with Parker's (1998) study, in which he states that:

A major point of CRT is to place race at the center of analysis with respect to how many White European American and institutions in U.S. society assume normative standards of whiteness, which in turn ignores or subjugates African-American, American Indians, Chicanos-Chicanas, Chinese-Americans, and other marginalized racial groups.

(Parker, 1998: 45)

Although Parker's discussion of normative standards of whiteness is from the USA context, his argument has clear parallels with Ame's lesson. At the end of her lesson she took the material back from her students and told them that they would be assessed by their answers provided in the material prepared by the teachers (I believe that Ame used the same strategy as Barbara, to make students quieter). When the lesson had finished she told me that she was very ashamed because students did not participate and talked too much.

From a CRT perspective, Ame's lesson might be linked to Ladson-Billings & Tate's (1995), observation that "most oppression does not seem like oppression to the perpetrator" (p: 57). It did not occur to Ame that students lacked knowledge about their ethnic background because they were oppressed and not integrated by the school curriculum to show their ethnicity.

The hidden message of the lesson

The message of the lesson is that students should feel inadequate if they are ignorant about their own family background. The school itself does not take the responsibility for failing to help students to know more about their own identity.

Ticking the 'race' box

Setting: Carmen's lesson occurred on 31st July 2002, in the morning with year 8 students. Of her group of 32 students, 16 were female and 16 male. Of these students, 13 classified themselves as white. Two of these students were Afro-descendants (according to the information that they had provided about their family), 19 were mulatto. In the school where Carmen teaches there were 90 teachers, of whom two were black, including herself.

In terms of organization of the physical space, in Carmen's classroom she organized the way that she was going to deliver the lesson. Carmen adopted a different strategy from the other teachers. She organized her students into four groups of seven students. I believe that this was a strategy to make the

students quieter. She brought with her to the lesson the material developed and extra sheets of paper for students to stick on the wall. She started the lesson by saying good morning to the students in Portuguese and congratulated them for coming back to school after the holiday. When the students were organized into groups she explained that the material they were going to use was a result of a study that she was doing with me. She explained that they were going to be assessed for the activity (again the strategy of saying that students would be assessed, was used by Barbara and Ame, was to make the students quieter). Carmen explained that the students would get points according to the answers provided by the group. The organization was:

Tasks	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4
05 points Students organization of the group				
20 points Unit 1 -task 1 -exercise 2 – find 30 cognates [English words similar to Portuguese in meaning and writing] in 30 minutes – (see appendix 9)				
20 points				
30 points				
5 points				
15 points				

The brief example shown above is to illustrate that students would get points depending on the answers that they provided for each task proposed by the unit. The questions were given to each group, and after the group had found *'the answer'* they would tell the teacher, and the group who got the most correct answers would win. The strategy that Carmen used of ticking 'questions and answer' boxes does not allow much space for discussion among students and teacher. 'Race' is such a complex and contested issue that there is not a 'right answer' - in fact one could argue that the teacher is trivializing the issue of 'race'/ethnicity by using such an approach. Of course, I am aware that her strategy was designed to make her students quieter, however, another strategy could have been used.

After a period of questions and answers, Carmen instructed her students to carry out on the activity below (appendix 9 - Unit 1 task 3):

TASK 3

2. REFLECTION

- a. What about you? What is your opinion about the mix of races?
- b. What is the name given to a person, who has an Indian father and African mother?
- c. What is your origin?
- d. Como vivem hoje esses três grupos étnicos? Quais suas conquistas? Quais seus problemas? Como sanar os problemas? [How do these three ethnic groups live today? What are their achievements? What are their problems? How to solve their problems?]

Figure 8.4 Unit 1 - Task 3

Carmen asked her students:

Teacher: What is the difference between the three (native Brazilian Indian, African descendants, and European descendants)?

Student 1: It depends on where they came from? Because nobody is equal, it depends on his or her race. If you, for example are born European you are blond, Africans are brown (morenos) and some native Indians are brown (morenos) and others are blacker [mais pretos].

Student 2: Not always.

Teacher: Did you say not always? Please explain.

Student 2: Not always. For example, an African person marries a German person. For example, the dad of a friend of mine is brown [moreno] African and the mother is German. They have two children, the boy is brown [moreno] the colour of the father, and the girl is the colour of the mother (...).

Student 3: Look at the example of my family. My mother is brown (morena). Her skin colour is half fair (meia clara), half dark (meia escura).

Teacher: And today in Brazil is there a pure 'race'?

Students: No.

Teacher: Do you accept the answer they gave you? (Teacher asking the group of students)

Students: Yes.

Teacher: Ok, let's do exercise number three.

The discussion provided in the example above assumed that 'race' is equal to skin colour and follows a very common pattern in Brazil. First, Student 1 said, "nobody is equal, it depends on his or her race". What this Student 1 is implying can convey several meanings. However, what the student implied

by "nobody is equal" is not discussed. Second, the issue of addressing Africans as black did not occur. The expression that is used is brown [moreno], by Students 1 and 2. It seems that students are aware of the sensitivity of the issue, and because their teacher is black they do not associate African with black, but with brown [moreno] which in Brazilian society is associated with a more privileged position than black.

Finally, the strategy that Student 3 used is clearly related to Telles' (2002) comments about "Racial ambiguity in the Brazilian population" (see also Chapter One):

Colour/cor captures the Brazilian equivalent of the English language term 'race' and is based on a combination of physical characteristics including skin colour, hair type, nose shape and lip shape with the non-white categories having negative connotations. (...) In Brazil, the word colour (cor) is often preferred to race (raça) because it captures the continuous nature of Brazilian racial concepts in which groups shade into one another.

(Telles, 2002: 421)

Telles' quote is reflected in the example of Carmen's lesson in which students' discussed 'race'/ethnicity. Carmen's students also seem to understand that:

(...) humans learn about the society in which they live, how its members are categorized and that others treat them as members of particular categories. However, identification in particular categories may also reflect descent, culture and other characteristics transmitted during socialization.

(Telles, 2002: 417)

The aspect of 'whitening' is very much present in their responses, which concurs with what was discussed in Chapter One. This is clear from the way that students refer to Africans and native Brazilian Indians. For instance, there is an avoidance of using the word black to refer to people of African descent. Another aspect to note is the comment made by Student 3 regarding her own family. The student uses several shades of colour to refer to her mother, but she does not refer to her mother as being of African descent. The example of this lesson conforms to Gomes' observation:

The ideology of whitening acts in a cruel way. It is through this that, in Brazil, thousands of blacks [negros] assimilate the values and culture of the white groups as legitimate, avoiding the inheritance of African descendants, not considering the real contributions of black descendants in the formation of Brazilian society (...). Whitening is a visible example of Brazilian racism.

(Gomes, 1995: 83, my translation)

As I pointed out in Chapter Seven, the material developed has some limitations, and one of them is in relation to the word 'difference' (as shown above in the discussion provided by Carmen). In relation to 'race' the word 'difference' can convey several meanings. Dei, writing in the Canadian context states that:

Understanding the notion of "difference" is significant to the anti-racism debate. Anti-racism education should be able to explore how difference is named, lived, experienced, imagined and acknowledged in the lives of students, teachers, parents and the local communities. For educators, the issue really is how they treat and relate to human and social differences in classroom.

(Dei, 1996: 37)

Dei's assertions explain the sensitiveness of working with the issue of 'race'/ethnicity, because depending on how teachers discuss the issue of 'difference' may imply superiority (Gillborn & Youdell, 2000: 4).

From a CRT perspective, Carmen's lesson is an excellent example of how students use skin colour as a way to identify other people. One aspect that could have contributed to Carmen not encouraging her students might be the fact that she acknowledges (see Chapters Five and Seven) her own difficulty in discussing 'race'/ethnicity, which she considers to be a taboo issue. Because it is a taboo issue for her it might have made her reluctant to dig deeper in terms of challenging her students to discuss the issue. Troyna et al., (1991: 14) in their study in the UK context, concluded that teachers are often not comfortable about teaching anti-racism.

The hidden message of the lesson

There are 'right' answers!

There is only one history of Brazil

Setting: Elisa's lesson occurred on 7th August 2002 in the morning, with year 8 students. Of her group of 29 students, 14 were female and 15 male. Of these students, eleven classified themselves as white. Five of these students were Afro-descendants (according to the information that they had provided about their family), one was black, 15 were mulatto, and two students were 'other' (two moreno – [brown - male]). In the school that Elisa teaches there were 50 teachers, of which she was the only black teacher.

In terms of organization of the physical space, in Elisa's classroom she organized the students into groups of four or five students. She brought with her to the lesson the material developed, rolls of paper, sheets of paper and a tape recorder. She wrote the date on the board and the activities the lesson would cover. She told her students that they would be assessed while they were doing this activity (this is the same strategy used by Barbara, Ame and Carmen). Elisa had already conducted another class with her students in which she had discussed the same issue. This was the second unit of the four that teachers had prepared (see appendix 9). Elisa started the lesson explaining to the students that they would talk about dreams. She fixed a long roll of paper to the wall, on which she wrote students' responses during her class.

In her lesson Elisa was explaining the task shown below (appendix 9 - Unit 2, task 1 exercise 2).

TASK 1

1. No poema abaixo, "Poems inspired by Martin Luther King" underline the rhymes. [In the text].
2. Além de Martin Luther King, que outras pessoas conhecidas na história lutaram pelos direitos raciais no Brasil e no mundo? E por quê? [Besides Martin Luther King, what other famous people in history fought for racial rights in Brazil and in the world? And why]

Figure 8.5 Unit 2 - Task 1

One of the questions Elisa asked her students was: "Which people fought in favour of racial equality in Brazil, and in the world? And why?" Some of them replied as follows:

Students: "Princesa Izabel" [Princess Izabel].

Teacher: Izabel signed the document but she was obliged to.

Teacher: Can you remember any other?

Student: Nelson Mandela.

Teacher: How about in literature? [silence].

Teacher: Machado de Assis, Castro Alves (Brazilian black writers).

Teacher: How about TV serials? Chiquinha Gonzaga (black musician).

Although the students' responses were naïve, they were responses that are in keeping with the official history provided by Brazilian textbooks (see Rosemberg et al., 2003: 136). The students reiterated the officially accepted narratives of history. Princesa Isabel was a member of the royal family who signed the "Lei Aurea" [Aurea Law] in 1888, which abolished slavery in Brazil⁵³. Students' answers about "Princesa Isabel" clearly show that in Brazil there is only one 'official' history of Brazil, and that history does not take into consideration the struggles of Afro-descendants and their contributions to Brazilian history. Students do not mention any other person because they do not know of any, their history textbooks are Euro-centric.

⁵³ However, what is not explained in the textbooks is that Princesa Isabel had to sign the document for political reasons. Thus, Brazilian textbooks portray Princesa Isabel as a heroine. What the textbooks fail to make clear is that at the time of abolition, black people were technically free, but without any chance of getting a house or a job, or to lead a life equal to that of the white population. Also, Brazil was the last country to abolish slavery in the world.

Teacher Elisa contributed to the discussion by adding other information about black Brazilian writers and a black musician. The students' responses to the teacher's questions showed that their view of history conforms to that provided by history textbooks, which also represent the culture of schooling. The teacher went on to ask who would be the people prejudiced against in Brazilian society:

Students: Against black people, against homosexuals.

Teacher: Cultural prejudice.

Student: Social prejudice.

Once again, it seems clear that students are well aware that black people face prejudice and racism in Brazilian society. 'Black people' is what comes first in their responses to the teacher. This confirms to Troyna et al.'s (1991: 13, see also Gomes, 1995) study, in which the authors highlighted that racism was almost always associated with the presence of black people. While Elisa was explaining the exercise one of the students said to one of her fellow students in the group:

"Why do they just talk about blacks [pretos]?"

This might indicate students' resistance to talking about the issue. This resistance might be because some students feel that there is too much discussion about black issues in class. When that student noticed that I was at the back of the class, all of the students in that group became quiet. The student made that comment because during the previous lesson they had discussed another text that was about the same theme. It is important to consider that as I was observing the class, and because I am black, the students might have felt that they could not express their feelings in front of me and were possibly afraid of talking freely about the issue.

This means that if students were aware and had participated in the planning of their lesson, they would know *why* they were discussing the issue. The inclusion of students in lesson planning is one of the issues suggested to be

considered in schools working towards CRT in the light of anti-racist education, discussed in table 3.2 in Chapter Three. One benefit of this is that there is a greater possibility that they might contribute more fully to the lesson (see Gillborn, 1995, see also Auerbach, 2000). The discussion of the issue of 'race'/ethnicity in Elisa's lesson was decided by the teacher alone (as somebody interested in the issue), but was not planned in the school with the co-operation of the students themselves and all the school staff.

The hidden message of the lesson

The lesson tells students that black people are not part of Brazilian history. White is seen as a norm.

Counterstorytelling

The cure is storytelling (or, as I shall sometimes call it, counterstorytelling).

(Delgado, 2000a: 61)

The lesson below is an example of counterstorytelling, counter reproductive story, or counter-narratives, which according to Bell, means telling the stories that "(...) are most often hidden or minimized in the dominant discourse, and to provide a critical lens for looking at the stories told by members of the dominant group." (Bell, 2003: 8). I considered this lesson to be an example of counterstorytelling because in his lesson, Daniel provided his students with a space to question issues that were being discussed:

"Counter-narrative stories 'tell on' or bear witness to social relations that the dominant culture tends to deny or minimize."

(Bell, 2003: 8)

"Through this hidden transcript, members of socially subordinated groups create counter-narratives that contradict and challenge the public transcript."

(Bell, 2003: 5)

'Race' is always present

Setting: Daniel's lesson occurred on 26th June 2002 in the afternoon with year 8 students. Of his group of 32 students, 17 were female and 15 male. Of these students, 14 classified themselves as white. Of these, seven students were Afro-descendants (according to the information that they had provided about their family). Four of these were black, 12 were mulatto, two students were 'other' (one morena clara – [light brown - female] and one morena – [brown - female]). In the school where Daniel teaches, there were 90 teachers, two of whom were black (one of them being himself).

In terms of organization of the physical space, in Daniel's classroom students were sitting in rows. They were in groups of three and some students sat in pairs, but most of them were alone. He brought to the class the material developed and chalks. Daniel introduced the lesson by informing students of the theme to be discussed. He said that he would talk about the formation of the Brazilian 'race'. He did not give the handout to students, and he asked them to tell him some of the characteristic aspects of Portuguese, Brazilian Native Indian and Black people. He wrote on the board according to suggestions made by his students, and some of their comments were:

Portuguese (Europeans): colonisers, enslaved people, stole, exploited and brought disease.

Indians: naked, creativity, instruments (baskets), few diseases, food, handcrafts goods, tribes.

Blacks (Slaves): slavery, poor, lack of food, were beaten, were goods, invented the feijoada (traditional Brazilian dish).

In Daniel's lesson, the aspect that attracted my attention was that *before* giving the students the text he tried to understand students' assumptions and understanding of the ethnic groups above. The students were therefore given the initial opportunity to make their voices heard. The extract above,

suggests that students' understanding of the aspects that relate to black people in Brazil are largely related to slavery and folkloric aspects, rather than the struggles that they went through, and the contribution that black people have made to Brazilian society, as discussed in Chapters One and Six. The words associated with each ethnic group by the students seem to confirm to what Pinto (1999), Gomes (1995) and other researchers have indicated. Afterwards, Daniel continued the lesson, giving students the material they (teachers) developed in the workshop. While he was teaching, one of the students said to another:

Student 1 (white): I think I will go to Africa.

Student 2 (white): You will become black. No, brown (Moreno).

Daniel did not hear what the students said. However, my point here is to illustrate the student's strategy of using words such as 'black' and 'brown'. It is very common in Brazil for Afro-descendent to describe themselves as 'brown' to be more accepted in Brazilian society, as discussed earlier. This is part of the process of 'whitening' discussed in Chapter One and in this chapter. Although these students were joking with each other, this seems to be an indication that they knew how black people like to be addressed. Apart from that, it also seems that the students were taking the opportunity to make fun of students' skin colour as a way of making fun of those students who were Afro-descendants. As the students who made the comments were white, it seems that they were at the same time using the self-definition that Afro-descendants' students use, such as 'brown'. It seems that the students knew that by using the self-definition of brown, their fellow students would be more accepted in society.

Daniel asked the students to do the Pre-task as shown below (appendix 9 – unit 1)

PRE-TASK

1. Quem habitava no Brasil antes de ser descoberto? [Who were the inhabitants in Brazil before the discovery?]
2. Quem chegou depois? Como e por quê? [Who arrived after? How and why?]
3. What are our differences?
4. Como é formada a raça brasileira? [How is the formation of the Brazilian races/ethnic groups]
5. Por que nós somos tão diferentes dos povos de outras nações (cultura, pratos típicos, etc.)? [Why are we so different from other countries (culture, typical food, etc.)?]
6. Who were the first inhabitants?
7. What language did they use?

Figure 8.6 Unit 1 - Pre-task

Daniel asked students about the mixture of races in Brazil. Some of them made the following comments:

Student 1: Not everybody accepts (the mixture of races) because there are some people who discriminate about racial mixture.

Teacher: How does the prejudice occur and where does it happen?

Student 2: The example of the fact that so many maids are black.

Teacher: Do you believe that there is prejudice?

Student 3: Yes, of course, because people do not accept other people who are different.

Teacher: How does it happen?

Students: Words, expressions.

As this transcript indicates, the students were very much aware of the ways that people can be racist towards other. The students seemed to be confident in the way that they expressed themselves, and also in the way in which they observed where racism occurs, and how it occurs. Another interesting point is that it seems that there is an avoidance by both teacher and students of using the word 'racism'. Instead, they choose to use the word prejudice. In her 1999 study, Kailin found that words such as "racism" or "races" are "rarely uttered in public discourse" (p: 728). In the case of Brazil, "for nearly 100 years after the abolition of slavery there was virtually no public discussion of racism" (Telles, 2002: 88), and obviously this might be one of

the major reasons that the word racism is not used in public discourse (see also the discussion in Chapter Three).

From a CRT perspective, Daniel's lesson is an excellent example of the way that "race is always already present in every social configuring of our lives" (Ladson-Billings, 1998: 9). This is clear from the way that students constructed 'race' when they were giving their examples. For example, the image of Afro-descendants as 'slaves' and 'poor', and the way students joked about going to Africa and becoming black/brown. It is also clear from the way that nobody in the classroom used the word race or racism. Thus, it seems to indicate that both teacher and students are aware of the sensitivity of the issue in Brazilian society.

The hidden message of the lesson

The message of the lesson is that 'race' and racism is part of our every-day life and must be challenged.

Messages conveyed by the storytelling

The way that teachers conducted their lessons can convey several messages to all students who were present in their lessons. For example:

- That people should avoid discussing sensitive issues, and not challenge what is already constructed in terms of the status quo because they will not be heard.
- Getting the grammar right is more important than exploring deeper issues.
- Students should feel inadequate because they are ignorant about their own family background. The school itself does not take the responsibility for failing to help students to know more about their own identity.

- There are 'right' answers!
- Black people are not part of Brazilian history. White is seen as a norm.
- 'Race' and racism is part of our every-day life and must be challenged.

The stories in context

This section is an attempt to understand how these unintended messages were revealed. The messages show that it is important to understand the context. Within the context, there are continuing themes, one of which is the issue of whitening.

Whitening

This was evident from Carmen's lesson when her students self-identified their relatives, and in Daniel's lesson when one student joked with another, "You will become black. No, brown (Moreno)". I would argue that because 'lighter' shades of colour give and bring privilege in Brazilian society, so students' tend to self-identify as light as possible to increase their chances of enjoying privileges within society. In my introduction of the 'setting' of each classroom observation, I described the students according to their own self-definition of their ethnicity. In their self-definition, some of them classified themselves as white, but their family background was black or mulatto (Afro-descendent). In some cases students choose to self-define as 'other'. The table below shows the students' self-identification in each teacher's classroom.

Table 8.2 Students' self-identification

	white	black	mulatto	native Brazilian Indian	other	Total students
Fabia (white)	16 (5 Afro- descendants)	-	13	-	brown [morena] (2)	31
Barbara (white)	14 (8 Afro- descendants)	4	14	1	brown [moreno] (1) normal brown [morena normal] (1)	35
Ame (white)	15 (5 Afro- descendants)	1	4	-	brown [moreno] (2) light brown [morena (o) clara (o)] (4) German & Spanish descent (1)	27
Carmen (black)	13 (2 Afro- descendants)	-	19	-	-	32
Elisa (black)	11 (5 Afro- descendants)	1	15	-	brown [moreno] (2)	29
Daniel (black)	14 (7 Afro- descendants)	4	12	-	light brown [morena clara] (1) brown [morena] (1)	32
6 teachers	83 (29 Afro- descendants)	10	77	1	Total: 15	186 students

As my findings (above) demonstrate, students know that if they use 'lighter' shades of colour to classify themselves they are more likely to have a privileged position in society. Bell states that:

People from both dominant and subordinated groups promote strategic interest in the stories they tell (...). The hidden transcripts or counter-narratives of subordinated groups serve to confirm their experiences and bear witness to their lived reality in the face of a dominant culture that distorts, stereotypes and marginalizes that reality.

(Bell, 2003: 6)

It seems that the students in my study, a "subordinated group" to use Bell's phrase, tell their 'story' in terms of skin colour to find a way of having a different life experience from that of their parents, an experience that they 'witnessed' as sons and daughters of Afro-descendants in Brazil. Students choose to self-classify using lighter shades of colour (brown, light brown, normal brown) or even white (being Afro-descendants) because they know what it is to be black in Brazilian society due to "their lived reality" and their own experience. Many of them might have come to the conclusion that joining the "dominant culture" seems to give them better life options. According to Telles (2002), "self-identification may involve the rejection or

acceptance of the symbols, traditions and lifestyles associated with particular categories" (p. 471). In the case of some Brazilian citizens, self-identification as referred to by Telles (2002) may be associated with 'negative characteristics such as poverty, sloth and violence' (p. 417, see also Akkari, 2001: 282, Motta, 2000: 667 and many others). As mentioned earlier in Chapter One, self-identification in Brazil has several dimensions, including a reluctance to classify oneself according to one's descent, but rather by colour (d'Adesky 2001: 144).

My data may therefore add weight to the view that some people find reasons to choose certain characteristics or categorisations when applied to themselves. It appears that the students in question are also evidence of a discourse tending towards 'whitening', categorising themselves as 'whites' as a socially constructed category, but at the same time giving themselves an identity based on their skin colour. The act of choosing one's skin colour brings with it a social meaning (Leonardo, 2002: 31). In the Brazilian context, where the process of 'whitening' brings people status, it is also a way in which people may choose other shades of colour to self-portray their own ethnicity (d'Adesky, 2001: 137).

Message

The message of whitening is that skin colour and lighter shades of colour are seen as a form of property because they bring privileges.

Behaviour problems?

Another issue that came out is teachers' continuing anxiety about behaviour. At the beginning of this project many teachers felt that they were not sure if the discussion of this issue would work because of students' behaviour in class. They had an assumption that classes were very noisy and that students would not engage or participate in the discussion. According to Osler (1997b: 55), discipline problems in classrooms can be related to racial

harassment. The discussion of issues of 'race'/ethnicity in the classroom environment might be a way of promoting the identification of students, and consequently they might have more respect for each other.

Apart from Fabia and Daniel, all the other teachers used a strategy of encouraging greater student participation by telling them that they were going to be assessed on the activity that they were doing. This clearly indicates two possibilities. The first, is that teachers are in need of support in terms of classroom management and students' behaviour because the strategy was used to make students quieter, not surprising considering that the number of students per class in my study varied from 27-35 students per class. The second possibility, relates to Gillborn's study, "Racism and antiracism in real schools" in which he states that: "In people's education the lessons cover a huge variety of issues, take many different forms and are sometimes noisy and conflict-riven" (Gillborn, 1995:147). In Gillborn's study, "students see these as positive features; the conflict and emotional content are interpreted as evidence of the programme's ability to tap into issues of important in 'the real world'" (Gillborn: 1995: 147; see also Gillborn et al., 1993). According to my view, the noise of students was the noise of participation. However, I also understand teachers' worries related to students' behaviour when being observed by a peer colleague (Goffman, 1995).

Message

The message of the emphasis on behaviour management is that people should not have confrontational arguments on sensitive issues within the classroom.

Conclusion

All the teachers in my study were open to discuss the issue, and they participated in the workshop on a voluntary basis. They also used their leisure time on Saturdays which they could have spent doing other things of

interest such as spending time with family and friends for example. All of them also volunteered themselves to be observed by me in their lessons. Their participation was extremely important. It was only because of their kindness in opening their classrooms to me that I was able to observe them. In real terms these teachers are put in a situation in which they have a PCN (national curriculum parameter) that address 'race'/ethnicity to be discussed as a cross curriculum theme.

However, teachers do not receive any in-depth continuing professional development (CPD) to support their lack of preparation. Apart from that, teachers have several barriers which prevent them from implementing an anti-racist strategy such as: number of classes (most of them 40 per week); number of students per class (27-35 in this study); working in more than one school (in this study four out of six teachers work in two schools or more); teachers did not have study leave time to work on their CPD. On the one hand, teachers came to participate in the workshop looking at it as a form of CPD to become more critical and reflective on their own practice. On the other hand, teachers have to overcome several barriers to put anti-racist education into practice. Teachers' practices show that they need a long-term discussion about the issue of 'race'/ethnicity so that they can reflect on their own practice and the way that they reproduce their social cultural context through their lessons. Webb states that:

Helping teachers understand their own assumptions and beliefs about other ethnic and racial groups will go a long way in helping teachers understand how their pedagogy can be better adjusted to meet the needs of all children.

(Webb, 2001: 251)

Teachers' practice on this issue is very important, in the sense that their treatment of this issue in their day-to-day lessons is something that needs to be discussed with them and challenged. Much more time seems to be necessary for most teachers to prepare to teach the issue. Although the teachers were voluntarily participating in a workshop of material development, some of them still emphasised the grammar content to be

taught rather than the theme of 'race'/ethnicity. In most lessons it was noticeable that a deep discussion of the issue with the full participation of students did not occur. Ladson-Billings states that:

(...) teachers' understanding of the saliency of race in education and the society, and it underscores the need to make racism explicit so that students can recognize and struggle against this particular form of oppression.

(Ladson-Billings, 1998: 19)

Ladson-Billings' quote above indicates, the importance of teachers' understanding of the issue of 'race' in education because their understanding will provided a *better understanding* to students when discussion occurs in classroom. However, my observation of teachers' lessons showed that sometimes the teachers themselves did not allow enough time for the discussion. This theme needs to be carefully discussed, and adequate time allowed for students to express their opinions on what is, after all, a delicate subject. Most of the time, I noticed students were very much interested in the issue. However, some teachers avoided discussing the issue, and even those that did often only allowed quick questions and answers and did not challenge students to carry on with the discussion. Teachers had the experience of the workshop on the issue of 'race'/ethnicity, but their way of teaching in some cases may lead to reproduction and inequality (see Pennycook, 2001: 15).

Students need to be challenged about the opinions that they learn in school, such as the official view of the events surrounding the abolition of slavery in Brazil. Alternative views of history need to be taught and discussed. The simplistic view of three harmonious 'races' (Portuguese-European, native Indian people, black people) representing Brazilian people also needs to be critically discussed in terms of black people's struggles and achievements, as discussed in Chapters One, Three and Six. It is also crucial that the issue of identity is raised in classroom discussion, taking into consideration the number of students going through the whitening process, and the students who self-classified as white, even though they have parents who are of

African-descent (see Gillborn, 2000a: 1519; Youdell, 2003: 17). Apple states that:

(...) the production of identities are historically conferred. We need to recognize that 'subjects are produced through multiple identifications'. We should see our project as not reifying identity, but both understanding its production as ongoing process of differentiation, *and*, most importantly, as subject to redefinition, resistance, and change.

(Apple, 2003: 113 quoting Scott 1995: 11 his emphasis).

The quotes above by Ladson-Billings, Webb, and Apple express what teachers need to have clear in their minds when they are teaching about 'race'/ethnicity so that they can help students to understand the need for the discussion. My findings also confirm the discussion at the beginning of this chapter that questions of pedagogy should be thought about carefully (Troyna et al., 1991: 53, see also Gillborn, 2000a; Starkey & Osler, 2001; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001).

Gillborn (1995), points out important issues that relates to my findings:

There can be more to research than simply identifying the failings of school-based work; research can constructively engage with school- and community-based attempts to change the status quo. If the attempts fail, as academics we can be of aid in several ways. Identifying how and why innovations fail is important, but so too is the attempt to identify possibilities for the future and highlight successes (even if the victories remain incomplete).

(Gillborn, 1995: 10)

I agree with Gillborn, because in this chapter I demonstrated the limitations of teaching a sensitive issue such as 'race'/ethnicity if teachers are not adequately prepared, and I also demonstrated some possibilities of teaching the issue of 'race'/ethnicity. In the next chapter, I "identify possibilities for the future and highlight successes", which teachers themselves identified because they participated in the workshop. I will examine teachers' contributions to their evaluation as participants in the workshop.

CHAPTER 9

EVALUATING THE EXPERIENCE

This chapter examines teachers' views of their experience of participating in the workshop. The aim of this chapter is to examine how teachers understood their own participation and also the ways in which they perceived an improvement when they subsequently taught the issue of 'race'/ethnicity in their own classrooms. I argue that because teachers participated in the workshop the topic of 'race'/ethnicity is no longer a taboo issue for many of them. Their newfound confidence is due to the fact that they developed their own material and delivered it to their students in the classroom environment. Teachers also identified possibilities for the future and highlighted successes (Gillborn, 1995: 10). Although the majority of teachers felt more confident, there were still some limits to their understanding, both in the way that the material was produced and in practice in the way that the material was delivered to their students in class.

My research leads me to conclude that continuing professional development in the field of 'race'/ethnicity should be longer than a day course or a short period workshop, so that teachers have enough time for reflection. First, I examine the way that teachers deconstructed the issue that was previously considered a taboo for many of them. Second, I examine the way that black and white teachers tend to have different issues regarding 'race'/ethnicity. Third, I explore the perceived impact on students. Fourth, I explore the perceived impact on teachers' identities. Fifth, I examine teachers' impressions of the importance of collaborative learning. Finally, I briefly examine continuing issues relating to 'race'/ethnicity that require further investigation.

'Race'/ethnicity is no longer a taboo issue

In this section I will examine the way that teachers consider that 'race'/ethnicity is no longer a taboo issue for them. As I explained in Chapter Seven (see also Chapter Five), before attending my workshop most of them did not teach about 'race'/ethnicity because of the fears that they had and because the issue was a taboo topic for them. In contrast, after the experience of the workshop, most of them changed their views about teaching this subject. Strengthened by this experience they seemed to have realised that it was not as frightening a topic as they originally thought, and it is now an issue that they feel far more open to discuss:

"My view changed. I noticed the fear I had of teaching the issue ('race'/ethnicity). It was not the way I imagined. I always avoided teaching it because it is a sensitive issue. We discussed the issue in the workshop and taught it in the classroom. (...) Also in the exchange with the other colleagues, you notice that you are not the only one who is afraid of dealing with the issue. It is a concern for everybody, independent of race or sex. We noticed that it is possible to produce material without making people feel offended and we can do more than just scratch the surface." (Carmen, evaluation interview)

"My view as a teacher changed because I felt more open to discuss the issue with students. I had taught it before but it was just very fast. But now I had the opportunity to go further. I noticed that now I have a different view when I have to select an activity to teach the students." (Elisa, evaluation interview)

"The workshop was very harmonious and valid. It also made me feel less afraid of dealing with the issue. The strategies that I learned in the workshop can be applied to any issue, but more specifically 'race' and ethnicity. (...) Suddenly you notice that is possible to teach any issue. It just depends on us." (Barbara, evaluation interview)

The possibility of working with a sensitive issue over a longer period seems to have helped the way teachers changed their views of this issue. Marx & Pennington (2003) in their study, "Pedagogies of critical race theory: experimentations with white preservice teachers" found that "nearly all of them [pre-service teachers] were very eager to share their views about these normally taboo subjects when discussions were ensconced in supportive,

trusting, dialogical conversations" (p. 104). Marx & Pennington's experience confirms my findings because, as teachers said, the experience of sharing the topic with colleagues and their students seems to have given them more confidence in their teaching of the issue of 'race'/ethnicity.

In the example of Ame (below), apart from becoming more open to discuss 'race'/ethnicity in EFL lessons, she also noticed that it is her responsibility to be aware of the importance of the issue before she introduces the topic to her students. Because she knows that students can reproduce what they see in the classroom, this means that if this issue is not discussed and explained properly in the classroom environment this will be evident outside the class in the students' social relations:

"I observed that I am more open to the discussion of this issue ('race'/ethnicity). (...) But I noticed that we, ourselves, educators, are still not aware of the importance of the issue. (...) This is a mirror that reflects what happens in our own society. If we are not aware inside our classroom, or if we are very afraid of teaching the issue of prejudice, of course our society will reflect this, won't it? (...). Now, when we listen to a student calling another black [preto] (name-calling), we are not going to let it go without saying something. We are going to do something and talk about this issue. We, now have a bigger commitment to tell our colleagues, people who surround us at school, and talk about this issue. We also talk more with our students about this issue ('race'/ethnicity) so that we can raise their awareness as citizens." (Ame, poster evaluation)

It is clear that Ame is now aware that when she sees evidence of name-calling behaviour she knows how to deal with it. The workshop seemed to have helped her to reflect on the issue of name-calling and the importance of the discussion of 'race'/ethnicity in the classroom environment. She is now able to make connections between what happens in the classroom and students' social relations. In the next section I examine the way that black and white teachers tend to have different perspectives relating to the issue of 'race'/ethnicity.

Black and white teachers have different issues

Race reflection may be conceived as a process that naturally occurs, particularly where experienced teachers are concerned. However, many teachers may not have developed the skills and repertoire of knowledge to effectively do this. And this may not be because teachers have bad intentions. Rather, it may be because they are unaware of the importance of race reflection.

(Milner, 2003a: 176)

As Milner states, when working with the issue of reflection on the issue of 'race'/ethnicity, some teachers may have developed more understanding than others. As my informants reflected on their participation in the process of the workshop and teaching 'race'/ethnicity it was visible that some teachers developed a greater reflection than others, and this was clearly not because some of them had "bad intentions". This section examines teachers' accounts of their difficulties in teaching the issue of 'race'/ethnicity. I will examine teachers' accounts by ethnicity. The source for my analysis of the teachers' accounts will be teacher evaluation interviews and their participation in the evaluation seminar for external teachers and Letras students (see Chapter Four).

Black teachers

Black teachers' difficulties in teaching the issue of 'race'/ethnicity varied. In Elisa's view, her difficulties were due to her lack of knowledge of Brazilian history. This aspect is very significant because it reflects the knowledge that Afro-descendants in Brazil have about their own background. There are several factors that may contribute to this lack of knowledge. First, Afro-Brazilian and African history and culture have only recently become compulsory in schools with the passing of Law 10639 on 9th January 2003 (Brasil, 2003, 2004a, 2004b). Second, Brazil went through a period of military dictatorship from 1964 to 1985, during which critical discussion of certain issues (such as Brazilian history) in the curriculum in schools and teacher education courses was not emphasised. Third, according to Telles (2002: 88), as discussed in the former chapter, public discussion about racism

started nearly 100 years after the abolition of slavery (slavery was abolished in Brazil in 1888). Fourth, although research relating to black people and racism in education has been ongoing since 1950s, according to Gonçalves e Silva, 2004 (see also Gonçalves & Gonçalves e Silva, 1998: 102), in the year 2000, there were 30 doctoral dissertation completed by scholars of African descent in Brazil concerning this issue. This means that there is a need for more research in the field⁵⁴. This means also that although research has been carried out, unfortunately it has not influenced ITE courses (see Chapters One and Three). All of the above factors have implications for the Brazilian population in terms of the availability of information related to people of Afro-descent. Elisa states that:

"It was difficult for me because I did not have enough knowledge about Brazilian history. I believe this aspect was missing for us. If I have to teach this issue again, a proposal for next year, and mainly in the month of May, is that we will discuss and include it in the planning and teaching around the issue of slavery. I teach about slavery, but not about black people and the valorisation of slaves. I believe that historical and social research is missing. Perhaps we could make a specific project together with teachers of history and geography. (...) I noticed that my teaching was superficial, because of my lack of knowledge. It could have been more substantial." (Elisa, evaluation interview)

Elisa explains that next year she will again teach the issue of 'race'/ethnicity in May, when she will discuss the issue of slavery. This is because 13th May is the anniversary of the abolition of slavery in Brazil. However, the black movement in Brazil does not consider this as a date for celebration. They prefer to celebrate 20th November because that is the date of the death of Zumbi (20th November 1695). Zumbi was a black slave who escaped from his owner and created a community of escaped slaves that was recognized as a movement of resistance. Consequently, the black movement chooses to celebrate an anniversary of resistance rather than slavery. It has also now been made compulsory that all schools should celebrate 20th November in the school calendar (Brasil, 2003, 2004a, 2004b). It seems that Elisa was

⁵⁴ It was only in 1985 that the first doctoral thesis in this field of 'race' in education was completed in Brazil by a black person (Gonçalves e Silva, 2004).

unaware of the political symbolism of these dates, yet her idea of working together with other teachers is important because this can create an environment in which other subjects can become incorporated in interdisciplinary projects to teach 'race'/ethnicity. Elisa's suggestion supports research carried out by Gillborn (1995: 132), in which he suggests that all subjects areas should engage in the discussions (see Chapter Seven). Another important aspect to note is that Elisa acknowledged that she was conscious of deficiencies in her own teaching and the need for further study. This means that she is being critical about her own teaching, which is one aspect of reflective teaching as discussed in Chapter Six (see Wallace, 1991; Schön, 1983).

Carmen seemed to be worried about my presence in her own classroom, and she seemed concerned that students would make jokes and make her feel ashamed:

"At first I was afraid because I did not know how the students would react. Because I teach them on a daily basis I don't know if they see me as black. I don't know how they see me. So I thought that I would have to teach the issue, being the centre of attention. I did not know if it would make them shy or if they would say what they wanted. So I had to take the risk. What helped me was that I knew you were observing the class. But your presence also made me feel afraid because I did not know if students would make jokes, and if I would know how to deal with the situation. Your presence did not make them feel inhibited because we are both black. It was useful. Now I don't know how the students see me." (Carmen, evaluation interview)

It is clear that an additional difficulty for Carmen in teaching this issue relates to the way that her students see her in the role of a teacher. One important point that she raises is related to the feeling of having another black person to support her in case something went wrong (i.e. that my presence in the classroom made her feel more confident). It seems that there is a kind of trust in what she is saying. She expresses greater confidence because of my presence in the classroom and it seems that she feels that if her students made jokes she would have another black person in the room to act as her ally.

For other teachers, their difficulties were more related to getting their students to participate. Daniel was expecting that the discussion of the issue of 'race'/ethnicity would be more intense. It seems that he was disappointed because that did not occur (see Chapter Five):

"Difficulty? No I did not feel it was difficult because my view was clear. However, there was difficulty in terms of gathering information and points of view from students. I thought that my difficulty would be if two students with different views would argue their points of view, but there was not. There was no difficulty and I was not worried about how I would react." (Daniel, evaluation interview)

Daniel made it clear that he was not worried about his own reaction to teaching the issue; he was far more interested in the potential reaction of his students. This interest is related to his initial interview in which he was expecting that students would get involved in the discussion.

White teachers

White teachers' difficulties with dealing with the issue of 'race'/ethnicity in their lessons varied, as did their black counterparts. For some white teachers, their difficulty related to their own lack of knowledge in relation to the issue of 'race'/ethnicity:

"Perhaps my difficulty was my lack of knowledge. But, it was not a major problem." (Barbara, evaluation interview)

In the case of Barbara, when I observed her lesson her emphasis was on translation and grammar, and she did not emphasise the issue of

'race'/ethnicity. Perhaps she taught in her lesson the issues that were a major priority for her.

Fabia (below) claimed that she did not experience difficulty dealing with the issue at all. When Fabia was leading the discussion with her students, she did not provide space for them to discuss the issue in the lesson that I observed. It seems that because Fabia adopted a colour-blind strategy in her lesson (unwittingly), she did not feel difficulty.

"I did not feel any difficulty. Not with my students." (Fabia, evaluation interview)

Although Fabia considered that she did not have difficulties, she changed her view in relation to her students (see below). For her, the experience of the workshop was a way of understanding how much knowledge students have about the issue and how much students can contribute if they are challenged to participate:

"My view certainly changed. I noticed that the issue ('race'/ethnicity) is familiar to the students. It was much easier to teach than I thought." (Fabia, evaluation interview)

Nevertheless, some teachers did not change their views because they believed that they already had enough understanding of the issue even before they participated in the workshop:

"I did not change my view because I had an idea of discrimination. (...) I did not have any problems. My view modified of course. You have more information, there are ways of teaching what you know that you can bring to the lesson." (Barbara, evaluation interview)

My interpretation of these two teachers' views (Fabia and Barbara) differs slightly from their own statements. In the case of Fabia, who states that

teaching 'race'/ethnicity was "easier than she thought". Also Barbara states that "I did not change my view because I had an idea of discrimination (...) I did not have any problems". It seems that it was necessary to reflect and discuss with them the way that they taught the issue of 'race'/ethnicity so that they could challenge themselves. Perhaps the workshop experience (amount of hours) was not enough to provide them sufficient opportunity to critically reflect on the way that they taught the issue. Sleeter, (1993, see also Lawrence & Tatum, 1997) in her study in the U.S.A context, seems to confirm my findings, which could be applied to the examples (above) of Fabia and Barbara. Sleeter states that:

White people need to learn about racism, as well as about the historic experiences and creative works of American minority groups and about the wide range of implications for schooling. This means beginning their reeducation by forcing them to examine white privilege and planning long-term learning experiences that anticipate the various strategies white people use to avoid and reinterpret education about race.

(Sleeter, 1993: 169)

For some teachers, these difficulties were related to their lack of knowledge about the material they prepared:

"The only thing that I felt difficulty about was the issue of Martin Luther King, because I did not have his biography. So when students started asking questions about him I did not know who he was. So I asked for some information from the history teachers and asked students to do some research about him. All the students brought fantastic information about him." (Ame, evaluation interview)

Ame seems to have found a way of giving her students the task of looking for information to help her overcome the difficulty that she encountered (see Sleeter, 2001: 98).

Black and white teachers' common issues

According to Auerbach (2000), "By carrying out investigations about daily life, students often identify issues of concern" (p: 157). As Auerbach states, teaching students issues that are related to their daily lives makes them identify themselves with the issue. Black and white teachers' accounts below seem to echo this observation:

"I think the time we spent together to produce our own material was interesting. We produced the material according to students' reality. It enabled us to look for other activities that are not just in the textbook, that are not related just to *our* reality." (Daniel, black, evaluation interview)

"I learned to try to change the style of my lessons. I learned not to have that monotonous type of lesson, guided by a textbook, page-by-page, doing exercises to keep students quiet." (Elisa, black, evaluation interview)

"The first aspect that I learned from this project is that it is possible to produce material that is related to students' reality that is not structural, as in the case of a book. After the material is prepared, you also have an immediate result and you can change the material, it is not something that you just take from a book. When you use the book, even if you don't like it you have to use it up to the end of the year, and hope that next year you can change the textbook." (Carmen, black, evaluation interview)

"I learned that if you do some research you can create material. I thought this part was very interesting because from the material you can create a theme to teach according to each classroom." (Ame, white, evaluation interview)

In Daniel's, Elisa's, Carmen's and Ame's excerpts (above) it is clear that after the workshop they took students' reality into consideration in their planning. Their reflections about the material development and students' reality (above) seem to answer some of the questions posed by Auerbach (1995) in her study "The politics of the ESL [English as second language] classroom: Issues of power in pedagogical choices", in which she asks:

Who decides what material should be used? On what basis are they selected? Who wrote them and for what purpose? Whose voice do they represent? How is their content related to the reality of student's lives?
(Auerbach, 1995: 20)

The experience of teachers developing their own material seems to give them the possibility of deciding which material they want to use in class. It also enables them to select specific materials and develop their thinking related to their own students with the purpose of effectively teaching about 'race'/ethnicity.

In summary, from my findings in this section (which I separated by ethnicity) it is clear that black teachers' accounts and white teachers' accounts tended to differ. Black teachers' experiences of difficulties tended to be more in terms of solving the problems that they thought they would have as they acknowledged in their initial interviews. Black teachers also referred to the issue of lack of knowledge in terms of historical aspects related to 'race'/ethnicity. However, for white teachers, their difficulties seem to concentrate more on the material itself. Even the responses provided by white teachers tended to be more limited in terms of the amount of information that they provided. The same aspect was described in Chapter Seven, in which I examined teachers' responses related to their difficulties as a reason for not teaching the issue of 'race'/ethnicity up to that moment. The information provided by teachers was the justification for the need for the workshop.

Recent research by Bell (a critical race theorist), argues that people 'tell stories', and in telling their stories they position themselves in relation to others (Bell, 2003: 6). The black teachers who participated in my research told the story of their own personal experience, a specifically black experience that white teachers tend not to have encountered. This perhaps explains why black teachers' difficulties were different, because their worries, their expectations, and their anxieties were also different from those of the white teachers. Thus, the issue of 'race'/ethnicity was not just one more issue

to be taught in their planning, but had a very real connection to their own life experiences. In the next section I will examine the way that teachers perceived the impact of the discussion of 'race'/ethnicity on students.

Perceived impact on students

This section examines teachers' impressions of students' perceptions of the issue of 'race'/ethnicity and their participation in classes dealing with 'race'/ethnicity.

Carmen and Ame noticed that there were changes in their students' views on 'race'/ethnicity after their lessons. By teaching the issue they hoped that students would respect their peers far more than had done previously:

"(...) When we were discussing the issue, students expressed their opinions and said that they had changed their views because they could now see their fellow students differently. I even noticed a difference in relation to daily behaviour. I was afraid about teaching that group because they can be very noisy. Since we started discussing the issues I noticed progress and this project improved their behaviour." (Carmen, evaluation interview)

"I noticed that before we started with the activities it seemed that students were not worried about the issue of racism. Now they speak differently, they state their point of view. It seems that their attitude in class also changed in relation to friendship and their fellow students. I noticed a very subtle change." (Ame, evaluation interview)

Although Carmen and Ame pointed out the improvements they noticed in their group of students, it is also important to reflect on students' reactions in discussing the issue. For instance, if students have a highly racist opinion about their peers, how are teachers and other students likely to react to this? Students' behaviour is an issue that teachers need to be aware of and they should be adequately prepared to deal with controversial views about 'race'/ethnicity. Theoretical reading and experiencing different strategies in dealing with the issue can help them in this respect. According to Gillborn (1995: 142), a lesson that explores different perspectives about racism allows students to expose their views, and with teachers' support challenge their

views. Teachers' understanding is highly important because their perceptions will lead the views of students in the classroom.

In the opinion of some teachers (see below), students changed their views about 'race'/ethnicity, and in Fabia's case it was also an opportunity for her to gain more knowledge about her own students with respect to certain issues. It also seems that it was a surprise for Fabia that students enjoyed the experience of expressing their views. However, Fabia could not reflect on the fact that perhaps the reason her students enjoyed the discussion so much might have been due to the fact that out of the 31 students that she taught, 20 were Afro-Brazilians. This might indicate that Fabia did not know that students already have developed knowledge about 'race'/ethnicity because she was not "familiar with their cultures, their neighborhoods, or their lived experiences" (Kailin, 1999: 728). Although she acknowledged that students were able to express themselves, in the classroom observation of her lesson I noticed that not much opportunity was given to students to openly discuss the issue. This was surprising because students were eager to participate, as shown by the examples provided by students (see Chapter Eight):

"In relation to students' perceptions, I changed my view, I did not know that they had so much knowledge about certain issues. They liked to talk, they were able to express themselves, and enjoyed discussing the issue." (Fabia, evaluation interview)

"There was a change in students' participation because they were more interested. In the case of the material, they liked it very much, so it was easy to teach." (Fabia, evaluation interview)

As discussed in Chapter Seven, some teachers attributed their difficulties in discussing the issue to a lack of suitable material. For some of them, opinions about students' participation also related to the material that they brought to class. Normally, students were used to copying the text written by their teachers on the board. However, because teachers had prepared their own material in the workshop, students were given written material on a double-sided A4 sheet of paper:

"(...) Students said that they liked the material because they could hold

it in their hands. I noticed that students liked it more than those traditional lessons, when you write the text on the board for them to copy. In my lessons I always try to look for interdisciplinary way of teaching. That is why I have to write the text on the board for them. Then it takes time, and we do not have enough time to prepare our own material for everybody. So I write on the board. I also believe it is good because it helps them train their writing. However, they don't like it much." (Ame, evaluation interview)

For some teachers, there were no changes in their students' participation, which they attributed to their own style of teaching:

"I haven't noticed any difference in students' participation because sometimes I bring different issues to students in my classes. (...) I mean, sometimes I discuss issues about chemistry, science or mathematics. (...)." (Barbara, evaluation interview)

Daniel observed that students' ways of thinking about the issue are related to the experience that they bring to the classroom from their homes, as discussed in Chapter Five (see Troyna & Hatcher, 1992b: 131):

"My understanding of students' perceptions is that all students are clear about the issue and also all of them are aware of the situation that they live in. What I noticed was that they were aware, and all of them knew what I was talking about and what I wanted to achieve. (...) I believe that it was possible to teach all the concepts in relation to 'race' and ethnicity. I believe that the discussion contributed very much to understanding about discrimination and prejudice. There is only one way of ending this prejudice, which is through changing attitudes at home, and increasing their knowledge of their origins and culture. Students' perceptions were interesting." (Daniel, evaluation interview)

These issues raised by Daniel concerning the perception of students in this study also relate to the strategy of anti-racist education discussed in Chapter Three table 3.2, that calls for the participation of parents and the community (see also, Apple & Beane, 1995; Epstein, 1993; Gillborn, 1995; Osler, 1997b). The participation of parents and the community is crucial because there might be a potential conflict between the views those students acquire at school, and the views they acquire in their home environment and the community.

The extract (below) demonstrates how Daniel's teaching experience reflected the culture of the school curriculum. What Daniel observed in students' responses was that history textbooks did not acknowledge the struggles of Afro-Brazilians in the formation of Brazilian history (following the Law of 9th January 2003 this is now compulsory in the curriculum, see Chapters Two and Conclusion Chapter). This might explain his students' responses, and also the way that a hidden curriculum operates, as discussed in Chapter Seven:

"I observed that students were only able to attribute the characteristics of slaves to black people [negros]. All the characteristics of black people [negros] that lived in slavery, that was nothing to do with African people. Any 'race' that had been enslaved would have the same characteristics. What happened in Brazil was that all characteristics of slaves were attributed to all blacks [negros] as a 'race'. The students had discussed a text that talked about the richness of cultural aspects of African people, but students ignored it and talked about the characteristics of black people [negros] as slaves. In the teaching of history the contribution of black people is not taken into consideration. In the school system black people [negros] are only seen as slaves." (Daniel, evaluation seminar)

In Daniel's experience, the workshop changed his students' views, but in a slightly different way. For example, in Daniel's opinion (below), before starting to teach 'race'/ethnicity in class he thought he would not have a problem with dealing with the issue. Daniel anticipated that there would be much more of a contribution from his students in the discussions:

"In my opinion my view changed. I had thought before that teaching the issue ('race'/ethnicity) was easy. I thought I would discuss the theme and everybody would speak, and I could make some conclusions. I thought that it was a 'silenced' topic and because of that, students would naturally want to participate in a discussion about the issue. So what happened? The classroom was also a reflection of our society, because there was a silence, and very few students participated. Nobody took a position. Students said that the problem is in society. It did not happen as I expected. My view changed because it is very complicated to teach this issue, it is not so easy. I came to the conclusion that it is a challenging issue. What needs to happen is really

to have a very open discussion. I was analyzing the effect of prejudice on those who are prejudiced and also those who suffer from the effects of prejudice. I expected a cathartic effect, because, we don't speak about the issue. People don't normally expose their opinions on this issue." (Daniel, evaluation interview)

"When I answered the questionnaire I said that I was prepared to teach the issue ('race'/ethnicity) but there were several problems. Because the issue is implicit, for example. The number of students in class. The colour [cor] of students, teachers' colour [cor]. In my view as a black teacher these issues are barriers. There was a silence [in class] and it was in this silence that I noticed the difficulty of teaching the issue ('race'/ethnicity). There was a brown [moreno] student in class and he did not say anything at any time." (Daniel, evaluation seminar)

The issues raised by Daniel are very important when trying to evaluate the experience of teaching 'race'/ethnicity in the classroom. His views are significant for several reasons. One of them is that he identified that the issue was 'silenced' in the classroom discussion. Recent research by Ladson-Billings (1996a: 85) about "Silences as weapons: challenges of a black professor teaching white students" concluded that:

- Student silence is not necessarily an indication of ignorance or agreement. Teachers may want to explore what is *not* said as well as that which is said.
- Student silence can be an indication of feelings of oppression (real or perceived) (...).

(Ladson-Billings, 1996a: 85, her emphasis)

It is worth taking a few moments to reflect on Ladson-Billings' quote. It seems that students' silence in Daniel's lesson may not be a sign of ignorance or agreement but rather a sign of non-commitment in relation to the issue. As Daniel states, students did not take responsibility in relation to the issue and acted as if it did not affect them personally. The students' silence might be a sign of oppression, in the way that Daniel remarks that the Afro-Brazilian student in his class did not say a word. The silence of this student might have been deliberate. Another important aspect was that Daniel (as a black teacher) noticed that his Afro-descendant student did not participate in the discussion. It seems that Daniel is showing "connectedness" that "may be

demonstrated (...) in Black teachers' interactions with Black children" (Callender, 1997: 157). In the next section I examine the perceived impact on teachers' identity.

Perceived impact on teachers' identity

The impact perceived on teachers' identity was visible in the way that teachers reflected on their participation in the workshop:

Teachers must ask themselves what complicity they have in creating student silences. In some cases, teacher race, class, and/or gender may precipitate student silence. Teachers can do little to change these status characteristics. However, if classroom information and attempts at dialogue around this information lead to student silence, they also present opportunities for reflection and examination to improve pedagogy as well as student-teacher interactions.

(Ladson-Billings, 1996a: 85, her emphasis)

Ladson-Billings states that teachers' ethnicity might be a factor in students' non-participation. Daniel suggests that if white teachers taught the issue it might be easier for students to express themselves:

"I believe that a white teacher would find it easier to expose their view on this issue. What happened in my lesson was self-defence. The students said it was all the fault of society." (Daniel, evaluation seminar).

It seems that Daniel wanted his students to perhaps assume that racism is incorporated in their social relations, for example, including the school, students and their family environment. Ladson-Billings states that students' silence is an opportunity for teachers to reflect, and improve their pedagogy. In the classroom observation that I made of Daniel's lessons, I believe he successfully discussed the content (see Chapter Eight).

In Daniel's view, discussing the issue is still problematic because he found that the classroom arena is a reflection of wider Brazilian society. In his

opinion the silence zone was not broken, in the sense that he was unable to hear the voices of his students relating their own true opinions about racism. This 'silence zone' that Daniel refers to, was recently identified in research by Silva R. (2002, see also Ladson-Billings, 1998). Silva concluded that the teachers she interviewed in the state of Bahia in Northern Brazil knew that the problem of racism existed but preferred not to talk about it with students, or in the school environment. It was decided not to discuss it because it is still a very sensitive issue in Brazil. The same 'silence' was observed in relation to the PCN that only in 1998 included the issue of 'race'/ethnicity within cultural plurality as a cross-curriculum theme to be taught in schools, and not as a separate policy. This 'silence', that Daniel referred to, is an extremely important issue to be uncovered and discussed within the Brazilian school system, using the anti-racist strategies that were outlined in Chapters Three, Seven and Eight. Discussion of this issue could be a fundamental step forward in making students, teachers, and the community aware of the damaging effects of racism in Brazilian society. Daniel refers to this in the extract below:

In relation to students' participation, I can give one example. I brought to class 'Schindler's List' and students participated much more than when we discussed 'race'/ethnicity. It seems that was because there was a strange person in class (me, a black teacher) and also a black student in class (...)." (Daniel, evaluation interview)

For Carmen, the way that she sees her own image as a black person is related to the discussion of identity. However, speaking as a teacher, Carmen made the following observations:

"Now I wonder how students see me. As white? But I am not. As black [negra]? But in what way? Black [negra]? (...) I notice that after teaching the issue students respected me more and my self-esteem improved." (Carmen, evaluation interview)

"I am not totally white, I am brown [morena]. So the students accepted me well. Really, that fear I had, as I told you before, was unfounded." (Carmen, evaluation interview)

The question to be raised here is: what kind of image as a black person does Carmen have in her own mind? It seems that her fears of teaching the issue have disappeared. However, because the issue of 'race'/ethnicity is very complex, Carmen seems to give the indication of the need to talk and clarify issues such as: race, whiteness, blackness, whitening and identity and the way they are constructed. This also informs that courses discussing 'race'/ethnicity to prepare teachers should include those topics/issues as part of the course.

Daniel's comments below seem to imply that he felt that students 'played the game', by which I mean that students followed the Brazilian conventions of avoiding discussing the issue of 'race'/ethnicity. But interestingly, he attributes his students' failure to participate to his own ethnicity:

"In the first Unit students were afraid of expressing their views. So this shows the level of prejudice is explicit for these students. Also, it might be that students did not participate because I am black. Perhaps with another teacher it might have been different." (Daniel, evaluation seminar)

In a reversal of Daniels' view, Carmen believed that her own ethnicity contributed to her students' participation in the discussion of the issue. As I have shown, some teachers found that in reality students could participate in discussion and articulate their views about 'race'/ethnicity with somebody who was black:

"Students accepted working with the theme well. They made comments and put their opinion, even the black students. I don't know if their participation is related to the presence of the teacher. I don't know if this is in the students' minds, because the teacher is black, and students would participate more." (Carmen, evaluation interview)

In the extracts above, provided by Carmen and Daniel, there is a constant questioning of their own ethnicity as a factor that may or may not contribute to students' participation in the discussion. Their accounts clearly express the need for reflection on the issues of identity and identity construction as

discussed earlier in Chapter One. In the next section I examine teachers' reflection on collaborative work.

Importance of collaborative work

Several studies in relation to continuing professional development (CPD) courses (Bailey, 1996; Lawrence & Tatum, 1997; Marx & Pennington, 2003; Prabhu, 1987) provide findings that teachers learn with colleagues if they share common knowledge.

In her study, "The role of collaborative dialogue in teacher education" Bailey makes three fundamental observations:

- First, collaborative learning can provide a powerful mechanism for teachers to explore their own conceptions of teaching and learning. (...) experiences of group members is an effective way for teachers to acquire new conceptions of their own teaching practice.
- Second, getting small groups of learners together does not guarantee learning. (...) Members see one another as resources for their opinions and experiences, (...). The ability of the group to create a voice for each group member was fundamental to this collaboration.
- Third, (...) crucially, group members had the opportunity to experience for themselves the benefits and challenges of (...) collaborative learning.

(Bailey, 1996: 277)

The quotations below express the way that teachers in my study learned with each other, in a similar way to that found in Bailey's study:

"The contact with other teachers of EFL, the exchange of experience, the production of material (with your help), the application of the material and the analysis of results, all made it possible to see an improvement in my teaching and it gave me a more sophisticated understanding of the issue of 'race'/ethnicity. (...)." (Carmen, evaluation sheet)

"My participation was very valid, because I could express my opinion and make suggestions about exchanging experiences and looking for new challenges in all aspects of teaching and learning." (Fabia, evaluation sheet)

"I believe it was very productive due to the amount of ideas that were exchanged. It was very helpful to produce the material with everybody because one teacher came with one idea and the others discussed how to make it better. It was very useful for exchanging ideas." (Fabia, evaluation interview)

Some teachers found that the workshop was an opportunity for them to "create a voice" and construct their own opinion through the process of sharing ideas with their peers. Some teachers also noticed the "benefits and challenges of collaborative learning" in which they learned new ways of teaching and also became independent in terms of creating new teaching strategies:

"I believe that the main aspect was our own improvement. Apart from that, I concluded that I lack knowledge about Brazilian history. Teaching English is not just about knowing the language. Teaching English as a foreign language means that you have to know aspects of other subjects (...)." (Elisa, evaluation interview)

"I believe it was a way to mature as a group of teachers. It is not just the opportunity to learn new ways of teaching, but also we created new things ourselves." (Elisa, evaluation interview)

"I thought it was very valid because I could re-think my pre-established concepts through the years that I have been teaching." (Carmen, evaluation sheet)

For some other teachers, it was a way to re-think prejudices that are embedded in their way of teaching. Sleeter (1993), in her study "How white teachers construct race", makes the observation that "Prejudice and misperception can be corrected by providing information. With more information, white people will abandon racist ideas and behaviours and (presumably) work to eliminate racism" (p: 158, see also Kailin, 1999: 734). It seems that the experience of the workshop helped Ame to reflect on her own way of teaching related to her own prejudice:

"This workshop was extremely relevant to my own improvement as a person and mainly as an educator. Prejudices are still very much embedded in our way of teaching. From the experience of this work we learned to teach using other strategies. We have to find immediate

solutions to sensitive issues. We have to incorporate this new knowledge about 'race'/ethnicity and discuss sensitive issues with rational attitudes and fairness. I thank you for the opportunity, and whenever you have another I will participate again (...)." (Ame, evaluation sheet)

Ame's account is important because she was the only white teacher who reached the conclusion that she might have behaved in a racist manner in her teaching (see also Marx & Pennington, 2003: 103). The accounts of teachers in this section seem that they identified the possibilities for the future and highlighted successes (Gillborn, 1995: 10). In the next section I examine the issues to be continued.

Continuing issues

Does teaching 'race'/ethnicity make a difference?

In the extract below, Daniel poses some questions that are very important to the work that he had developed with his students. This forms part of the process of reflection that Daniel had gone through. I see here similar patterns to Milner's (2003b), argument in which he states that "teachers need to pose tough questions" (p: 194), such as the tough questions that will help teachers to reflect on the role of being a teacher in a diverse setting:

"The big question is changing prejudiced behaviour. Will these students change their behaviour from now on? Or will these students continue playing his/her role in society, pretending that it does not exist?" (Daniel, evaluation interview)

It is not possible to answer these questions in this study. However, teachers have to bear in mind that they have to do their best and fight for equality and justice in relation to 'race'/ethnicity in their place of work with the instruments that they have. That is their own personal sense of justice for equality.

How can 'race'/ethnicity be integrated with EFL and the curriculum?

Auerbach (1995) poses some questions related to how teachers think about the role of the use of material in the classroom, some of which were discussed in the previous section. Auerbach also points out, "Most importantly, how are the materials integrated into the rest of the curriculum?" (p. 20). In the excerpts (below), most teachers seem to want to integrate the issue of 'race'/ethnicity in their own classroom planning in the future and apply what they have learned to other themes:

"My view changed, in the sense that now I am not so afraid about teaching this issue to them (students). (...). Now I am more aware of integrating these issues in the way that I plan my classes." (Ame, evaluation interview)

"I learned about the importance of planning (...) that is something that is missing for us. Sometimes you don't know that on a new theme you can have new ideas." (Barbara, evaluation interview)

"The experience gave me the possibility to think about why I follow the textbook and why we discuss this specific theme. I will extend the same style of discussion to other themes." (Elisa, evaluation interview)

"This practice could be used in other themes, according to the needs of the school." (Daniel, evaluation interview)

"In the material we used, there was the possibility of change. (...) I noticed from the discussion I had with students the need to change many aspects in the way that I look at the issue, but now I have acquired the means to change. This workshop showed me the way to change (...)." (Carmen, evaluation interview)

It seems from the teachers' experiences that the workshop certainly helped them to look at their lesson planning differently. However, Lawrence & Tatum (1997: 176) in their study "Teachers in transition: the impact of antiracist professional development in classroom practice", found that "(...) participants were energized by their new learning, they also expressed anxiety about becoming isolated in their schools as lone antiracist voices. This feeling is

well founded and it common to those embarking on an antiracist journey" (p. 176). Tatum's findings are important to my study because they relate to what teachers who have participated in this study will do after that. How will these teachers find time to meet each other if they are still teaching a high number of classes? Who will support them and provide materials for them to continue reflecting on the aspects that were lacking (such as whiteness, teachers' identity) if their schools did not even provide them with study leave to attend the workshop? These are questions that must be addressed by their NRE (LEA).

What does 'race'/ethnicity have to do with the acquisition of EFL?

Those teaching English as a foreign language (EFL) also have the responsibility to promote equality in terms of 'race'/ethnicity, taking into consideration that EFL forms part of the general curriculum which has an overall commitment to equality in education. Afro-Brazilians face problems of inequality in society, as demonstrated in tables 1.2, 1.3 and 1.4 presented in Chapter One. Apart from that, there is a growing body of research that claims that EFL as a subject should directly address issues that are part of students' reality and in relation to anti-racist education (Auerbach, 1995; Block, 2003; Corson, 1997; Ferreira, 2002; Moita Lopes, 2002; Norton, 2000; Osler & Starkey, 2000; Pennycook, 2001; Tollefson, 1995).

As the teachers in my study were teaching the theme of 'race'/ethnicity within the area of EFL it is important to know their views about what their students acquired in terms of language. Auerbach (1995) points out three aspects that contribute to students learning English as second language. The first is related to the content that validates "*what student already know and bring to learning*". The second is related to the content that "*focuses on learners' lived experience rather than on idealized projections of that experience*", and the third, is that "*the content is problematized*". This means that "*language work (grammar/competencies) is contextualized in relation to issues and taught in*

service of addressing them." (Auerbach, 1995: 19, her emphasis). Auerbach's statement seems to confirm some of the reflections by teachers in my study in relation to the language acquisition of their students. For some teachers their students improved the vocabulary:

"In terms of language acquisition my students improved their vocabulary." (Ame, evaluation interview)

"Because students were worried about providing the answers to the questions. I noticed that they learned more vocabulary and assimilated the meaning of the words." (Elisa, evaluation interview)

"I believe that my students acquired more vocabulary. If we had a video or tape we could have taught them the pronunciation of the words." (Fabia, evaluation interview)

For other teachers the experience was a way of helping students to get used to not using the dictionary so much:

"In terms of language acquisition my students used to use the dictionary a lot. I try to convince them not to use it, but they have this need." (Barbara, evaluation interview)

"In terms of language acquisition the students learned without the help of the dictionary. If the students did not know the meaning of a specific word, a colleague helped." (Carmen, evaluation interview)

For some teachers the use of the thematic material was a way to demonstrate to their students that they do not have to understand every word and that it is more important to understand the context of what they are trying to understand:

"To help students understand the text we tried to explain the general meaning in context, and it helped them to understand the text." (Carmen, evaluation interview)

"In relation to language acquisition students interacted with the text. When they had to look for information in the text they did not have difficulty. Because of the theme students collected information and solved the questions without great problems." (Daniel, evaluation interview)

These reflections by the teachers illustrate that they noticed an improvement in students' language acquisition because they discussed issues that were part of "what students already know and bring to their learning". These improvements also appear to be due to the fact that the teaching "focused on students lived experience" and that "the content was problematized".

Impact on students' identities

In Tatum's (1996) study, "Talking about race, learning about racism: the application of racial identity development theory in the classroom", she found that:

When asked to reflect on their earliest race-related memories and the feelings associated with them, both White students and students of color often reported feelings of confusion, anxiety, and/or fear. Students of color often have early memories of name-calling or other negative interactions with other children, and sometimes with adults. They also report having had questions that went both unasked and unanswered. In addition, many students have had uncomfortable interchanges around race-related topics as adults.

(Tatum, 1996: 326)

In Elisa's view there is a need for greater involvement of students when discussing sensitive issues:

"Students' views on the issue are like this. It is as if somebody died in the street, hit by a car for example, and everybody saw it but did nothing to help. It is as if they do not consider it to be anything to do with them. As they don't consider it is to be their business, consequently they don't want to discuss it, and they will not try to solve the problem. It is a lack of identification with the issue, a lack of sensitiveness to feel what someone else is feeling." (Elisa, evaluation interview)

"I believe that in general, we have tired eyes. (...) We are very used to the situations that we pass the same places and we don't observe." (Ame, evaluation seminar)

Ame's extract (above) challenges the way that people in general see and act about certain issues. In the case of 'race'/ethnicity it seems that if it is not someone's direct concerns they do not get involved. Elisa and Ame's

comments seem to echo Kailin's (1999) statement that white people seem not to "identify with the dictionary definition of a racist" (p: 726):

Because most Whites cannot recognize themselves in such a definition of racism it appears to be something that exists somewhere else outside of themselves, to be someone else's problem. Nor are they conscious of institutionalised racism, i.e., the ways in which historical patterns of racism still adhere to structures and behaviors even as laws are changed to eradicate them. Institutional racism and White privilege become embedded without conscious intent, for people may avoid the possibility of institutional change or reorganization if it affects their sense of well-being or opportunity.

(Kailin, 1999: 726)

Elisa's comments (above) also make it clear that teaching the issue of 'race'/ethnicity is more complex than one may imagine and requires much more work in the structure of the school environment and the involvement of the community.

During the time that the teaching materials were developed, Ame began to be intrigued by her students' identities. She became increasingly aware of the importance of teaching and discussing issues related to identity construction in the classroom. She also noticed that before they could discuss issues related to 'race'/ethnicity, students needed to be aware of who they are and where they come from:

"What attracted my attention most was that students did not have knowledge about their ancestors and relatives. This concerned me, because it seems that students are lacking identity. This issue of identity is not taught in school. I believe that they should have discussed this aspect from elementary school onwards, and have a different view from their own family." (Ame, evaluation interview)

These are questions that need to be answered by students themselves so that students can be truly aware of their own family backgrounds. According to Hall (2000):

(...) identities are constructed within, not outside discourse, we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies.

(Hall, 2000: 17)

Hall's statement above, reminds us that identities are constructed within society. By discussing the issue of 'race'/ethnicity, students are given the opportunity to understand their own self-identity. This is a way of making them aware of who they are, and accepting themselves as somebody who comes from a certain place. In the case of a multi-ethnic society such as Brazil, and in this specific research, it is crucial that teachers understand the importance of identity construction. When teachers discuss the issue of identity construction in the classroom, there might be black and white students discussing the same issues. This means that there is a possibility of challenging children's assumptions about what it is to be white and black in Brazilian society. By changing children's assumptions at a formative period in their lives, and by encouraging them to formulate their own opinions, there is a possibility of changing the racist behaviour and attitudes that may develop when they become adults. This discussion of identity occurred in the material applied by teachers in unit 1 – task 3 and post task – appendix 9 (see Chapter Eight).

Conclusion

My findings indicate that although the issue of 'race'/ethnicity is no longer a taboo issue for the teachers who participated in my workshop, nevertheless, the understanding of black and white teachers tended to be different. As the teachers' responses indicate, some of them changed their views by working with a theme that in their view was earlier considered to be 'taboo'. The production of their own material also allowed them to understand that when teaching 'race'/ethnicity it is necessary to teach, reflect and experience students' reactions so that the sensitivity of the issue can be fully understood

and appreciated. However, it is essential to point out that not all teachers had the same experience and the same level of reflection.

Teachers seemed to see the impact of their own ethnicity on the level of students' participation. Teachers' impressions of students' perceptions and participation varied. For some teachers, students used the same strategy as adults. For example, they were reluctant to get involved with the issue and did not feel that it was their problem. For other teachers, students were keen to participate and express their view on the issue. These teachers also noticed some changes in the behaviour of some students towards their peers. In the opinion of some teachers, students demonstrated that they knew much more about 'race'/ethnicity than teachers expected. Most teachers were also able to identify the importance of collaborative work and the significance of the inclusion of the issue of 'race'/ethnicity in the curriculum for future work (see Gillborn, 1995: 10). They also recognised that discussing the issue of 'race'/ethnicity with their students was helpful to the improvement of their students' language acquisition because it related to their every day lives.

CONCLUSION

Education alone cannot remove racism from society; but as one of the major agencies through which we learn our place – and sometimes stake a claim to a different one – those of us working in education have both an opportunity and a responsibility to 'struggle where we are'.

(Gillborn, 1995: 176, quoting Hall, 1985)

I argued at the beginning of this thesis that unless teachers have adequate understanding of issues of 'race'/ethnicity, issues of CPCCT in schools will be inadequately addressed. The complexity of 'race'/ethnicity is a reality in Brazil and the school system (teachers and all staff involved in the process), policy implementation in schools (NRE [LEA]), and initial teacher education (ITE) courses can all be powerful forces to support teachers' understandings of the complexities of racism. However, the interaction of the people involved in the process, and the conditions provided for them, can bring outcomes that sometimes make action difficult.

This research was collected, examined, and written, guided by four questions: How do EFL teachers understand and address issues of 'race'/ethnicity in education? Where does this understanding come from (e.g. their own ethnicity, their educational experiences, professional development)? How do their understandings change as a result of staff development? What are the implications for the development of their professional practice, and ultimately, racial and ethnic equality?

'Race'/ethnicity, the Brazilian context and PCN

I started Chapter One explaining the 'myth of racial democracy', and I contextualized the complexities of 'race'/ethnicity in the Brazilian context. In this chapter I examined the way that the 'myth of racial democracy' was constructed and I provided evidence of the ways in which the '*myth*' can be deconstructed. This evidence is shown by figures relating to the access of

Afro-Brazilian students to elementary, secondary school, and to university level. This evidence highlights the inequality in the education system towards Afro-Brazilians. Another important aspect that I discussed was the official classification of colour in Brazil, in which the Brazilian population is classified by colour by the IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics). The manner in which the population is classified (by skin colour) demonstrates that Brazil is clearly not a colour-blind society. This is linked to the process of whitening (evidence of this process among students is shown in Chapter Eight), by which Afro-Brazilians use these numerous shades of colour to self-identify and to escape from the racist connotations that are attached to words such as "black" [negro and preto].

In Chapter Two I focused particularly on the PCN (National Curriculum Parameter). I first outlined the way that CPCCT (cultural plurality as a cross-curricular theme) is understood in the official document. It is clear that the PCN was designed to address several issues, only one of which was 'race'/ethnicity. However, the document is very broad and does not provide enough guidance about how this specific issue is to be implemented in the school environment. The document also does not show evidence of inequality in relation to blacks and whites in education.

I then moved on to discuss the way that CPCCT is understood in the broad educational field, and in the particular field of EFL, specifically relating to the issue of 'race'/ethnicity. As regards the broad field of education, the term 'cultural plurality' was rejected because Brazilian researchers associated the term with a 'celebration of diversity'. However, CPCCT is understood and associated with other terms such as: 'multicultural education', 'critical multicultural education' [the most dominant North American perspective], 'intercultural education', 'critical intercultural education', and sometimes 'anti-racist education'. In the field of EFL, the issues related to the discussion of 'race'/ethnicity are more associated with discussions of 'identity construction'.

In Chapter Three I introduced the framework that I adopted in my research to understand and examine my data, that is Critical Race Theory (CRT). The reason why I adopted CRT for this purpose is because "The major point of CRT is to place race at the center of analysis" (Parker, 1998: 45). I believe that putting race at the centre of analysis also helps teachers to understand the PCN. It also enables them to work towards racial equality, because in this way they will know that 'race'/ethnicity is an important issue that have to be addressed in the school environment. The research conducted by Ladson-Billings (1998: 22) in the US context (where the term multicultural education is also used to address issues of 'race'/ethnicity) demonstrated that teachers understand the use of term 'multicultural' as a 'celebration of diversity' when teaching students in the classroom. I also adopted a CRT approach in this research because it clearly exposes the way that racism is endemic in society, and because CRT challenges colour-blindness and meritocracy in society, issues that are *still* problematic in Brazil (as discussed in Chapter One). CRT also can be seen as a powerful tool to challenge "curriculum, instruction, assessment, school funding, and desegregation" (Ladson-Billings, 1998: 18). The framework of CRT is used throughout my analysis to explain my findings.

'Race'/ethnicity and professional practice

In Chapter Five I examined teachers' own orientations to CPCCT in general, and more specifically the issue of 'race'/ethnicity. My findings clearly show that teachers' understanding of CPCCT is associated with 'celebration of diversity', I attributed this to the way that the CPCCT is seen in a very broad way, and also to the lack of clear guidance on the issue given to EFL teachers. In addition, some teachers' perceptions are associated with the 'myth of racial democracy' and colour-blindness, in the way that some of them were unable to see how skin colour can bring advantages with it in Brazilian society.

Because the issue of CPCCT is very broad, it seems to guide teachers' understanding of 'race'/ethnicity. However, it was clear that most teachers did not teach the issue before because they consider the issue of 'race'/ethnicity to be a taboo issue. In Chapter Six I examined the issue of 'race'/ethnicity in ITE (initial teacher education). It is clear that they did not discuss issues of 'race'/ethnicity, and most of them did not have a critical ITE course that prepared them to be reflective. National and international data confirms that most teachers do not receive a critical ITE course. Apart from the problem of not being well prepared to deal with real life situations and concerns, teachers also face barriers in their work environment.

These barriers are related to their work contracts, the majority of which are short-term contracted rather than permanent contracted. Because most teachers do not have a permanent job contract, it leads them to work in more than one school. The implications of not having a permanent work contract, and having not received reflective ITE, leads teachers to reproduce inequality in the educational field that mainly affects Afro-Brazilian students.

In relation to their CPD (continuing professional development), teachers tend to look to a CPD that is skills-guided. The role of the NRE (LEA) and schools to in supporting teachers implementing CPCCT is far from active. Because of all the factors provided above, the systematic implementation of CPCCT (specifically 'race'/ethnicity) towards an anti-racist education did not occur. All the initiatives were taken by teachers individually.

In Chapter Seven I describe the material development of the workshop, in which teachers participated to produce their own material that addresses the issue of 'race'/ethnicity. The reason for providing teachers with this practice was because one of their arguments about not teaching the issue related to the lack of material to teach it. Several teachers also mentioned that they did not teach the topic because they had a fear of it because it is a taboo issue in Brazil. In this Chapter I also described briefly the material developed by teachers. It was possible to identify that the material developed had some limitations in relation to the way teachers asked certain questions. These

limitations were investigated and observed when teachers delivered the material to students that are discussed in detail in Chapter Eight.

Chapter Eight discusses the very revealing ways in which teachers delivered the materials they had developed to their students. These materials are important because they provided teachers with a source of didactic material. However, it was in the moment of practice that it was possible to perceive the reproduction of existing social relations that is embedded in the Brazilian social relations and the way that Brazilian society addresses the issue of 'race'/ethnicity. As I examined each lesson, it became clear that each one provided messages, such as, racism should not be challenged; white is seen as a norm; students should not challenge the status quo, etc. These messages from each lesson were directly based on the way in which the teacher conducted their lessons. My findings confirm the suggestions made by (Auerbach, 1995; Gillborn, 1995; Starkey & Osler, 2001; Troyna et al., 1991) that although teaching materials are important, questions of pedagogy are equally, if not more important.

Teachers' evaluations of their participation in Chapter Nine showed that for most of them, the issue of 'race'/ethnicity is not a taboo issue any more because the workshop allowed them sufficient time to reflect about what they were doing. Teachers considered that their participation allowed them to notice the importance of collaborative work, and that lesson planning is crucial to make actions possible. Many of the teachers also said that they will include the issue of 'race'/ethnicity as part of their future teaching planning. Although teachers felt more confident, there were still some limitations to their understanding, both in the way that the material was produced, and in the way that the material was delivered to students. My research leads me to conclude that continuing professional development in the field of 'race'/ethnicity should be longer than a day course or a short workshop, so that teachers have enough time for reflection. Another aspect to consider is how these teachers who participated in the workshop will continue their process of improvement in terms of reflection related to their own practice if their working conditions do not allow them to. As discussed in Chapter Three

table 3.2, more involvement of the school as a whole is necessary so that an efficient policy can be constructed at a micro-school level involving the community, all staff in the school, and students.

'Race'/ethnicity: some reflections

Before considering the latest changes to the curriculum in Brazil, it is useful to reflect briefly on the contribution to knowledge, some emergent themes, and also the limits exposed by my research.

Contribution to knowledge

The contribution of CRT (critical race theory) to my research was crucial because the framework of CRT provided me with tools to analyze the responses of my informants in the Brazilian context. As CRT challenges colour-blindness, whiteness and the status quo, and uses the tools of storytelling and counter-storytelling to voice racial oppression it enabled me to explain the injustice and inequalities in relation to race that occur in Brazil.

Because CRT has a strong theoretical framework I was able to use it to provide an important contribution to understanding racial inequalities in Brazilian education. In particular, this study has shown that if issues of 'race'/ethnicity in schools are to be adequately addressed, we require more than legislation, the provision of curriculum materials and teachers' commitment. My major finding was that issues of pedagogy are crucial.

Teachers' ethnicity

Throughout the analysis of my data, and in the methodology chapter, issues relating to teachers' ethnicity were evident. As I collected data from three black teachers and three white teachers it was impossible not to notice the difference in their responses. The aspects that I noticed in the responses of

black teachers were that, apart from answering the questions I asked them, there was an added contribution from their own lived experience. It also appeared that their responses were also questioning some existing social relations in relation to 'race'/ethnicity. The use of CRT in those moments was very helpful because it allowed me to expand my analysis using the tools of 'storytelling' and 'counterstorytelling'.

The responses provided by white teachers in my research were also valuable because they showed the involvement of white teachers in relation to the issue of 'race'/ethnicity. Considering that all the white teachers volunteered to participate in the workshop it is evident that they were interested in the issue. However, their responses tended to be less reflective, probably due to the fact that they did not face overt and subtle racism in their daily lives in the same way that black teachers did. Another aspect to note is that very few white teachers challenged themselves to reflect on the way that 'white' is seen as a norm and the privileges it brings in Brazilian society.

I would suggest that any course related to teachers' understanding of 'race'/ethnicity should include discussion of issues such as whiteness (social construction of 'race'), institutional racism, issues of colour-blindness and identity construction in order that teachers might reflect on their own pre-existing assumptions about how one can reproduce existing social relations through teaching. These courses should also be of sufficient length to allow time for reflection. In the view of Lawrence & Tatum (1997: 176), better results can be achieved if the discussion occurs for the period of a semester.

'Race'/ethnicity as a taboo issue

The fact that 'race'/ethnicity was *still* seen as a taboo topic among my informants (before they attended my workshop) was very evident. Teachers' fears were related to the way that students would react towards their peers (name-calling), the way society would react if parents came to school to complain; fear of not knowing how to handle the situation, and fear of lack of information about the specific topic. However, the workshop provided

teachers with the experience of facing these fears and recognizing at the same time that the issue is *still* sensitive. Nevertheless, if teachers are adequately prepared it is possible for teachers to overcome their fears. This preparation requires them to know more about historical aspects of Brazil and abroad in relation to 'race'/ethnicity, because some teachers had difficulties in providing examples to students because they lacked knowledge in this area.

Does it make any difference?

Some teachers questioned whether just talking about the issue with students would make any difference. Of course, the issue of 'race'/ethnicity is a complex issue in Brazil and in many other countries. Nonetheless, while the problem exists it is necessary to discuss it openly to provide an awareness of the unequal treatment that affects black people, institutionalized racism, and the unwitting forms of racism that still exist in Brazil. Although 'race'/ethnicity is a very complex issue, "those of us working in education have both an opportunity and a responsibility to 'struggle where we are'" (Gillborn, 1995: 176, quoting Hall, 1985).

Students

Although I did not collect extensive data from students, it was possible to observe from the interaction that occurred in the lessons among students-students and teacher-students, that students' voices should be heard more, and that they should be more involved in the process of working towards an anti-racist education. The data collected from students' ethnicity clearly demonstrates the whitening process that they underwent. This is one aspect that should certainly be discussed with students in a way that helps them to reflect on their own identity. According to Archer:

Identities are constructed through and within language and discourse, but they are also structured by material factors and inequalities. Equally, identities are not just consciously articulated, argued and asserted –

they have an unconscious, emotional and psychic dimension. Furthermore, identity is relational, defined through other relationships: in addition to being articulated through a notion of what 'I am' or who 'we are', it can be constructed through a sense of what we are 'not', and how others see us and indeed how we *think* others see us.

(Archer, 2003: 158, quoting Said, 1978, *her emphasis*)

Strengths and limitations of my research

It is important at this moment to reflect on the strengths and limitations of my research because I hope that it can point the way towards future research to be done in the field. There were several aspects that my research brought to the surface as a result of this study.

Reflecting about the findings of my sample of EFL teachers, it is not possible to claim that my sample is representative of all teachers throughout Brazil. The teachers were not typical because they volunteered themselves to participate in this research, which may mean that they were more committed than others. Even though they were committed, serious issues were raised by their participation. These provide examples of the difficulties that all teachers have, for example, in handling and developing the material and dealing with it in the classroom. My point here is that if it is difficult to implement an anti-racist education with teachers who are committed, imagine the problem for teachers who are not committed to participation in staff development or the implementation of anti-racist education. Consequently, a strong commitment by those offering staff development on the issue of 'race'/ethnicity to involve all school staff, students and the community is absolutely essential.

The PCN started to be implemented in 1998, and as shown throughout this study there has been very little follow-up work by the government, universities, or Local Education Authorities to implement policies at a micro-school level that take into consideration 'race'/ethnicity. Most of the initiatives in relation to the issue were carried out by individual researchers interested in the issue (see Cavalleiro, 2001; Gonçalves & Gonçalves e Silva, 2000; Moita

Lopes, 2002, 2003b; Paula, 2003, Pinto, 1999) or sometimes dependent on the interest of local government (see Gandin & Apple, 2002).

Another aspect to reflect on in terms of this research is in relation to the ethnicity of the researcher. As I pointed out in Chapter Four, I am an Afro-Brazilian researcher, researching about 'race'/ethnicity and interested in understanding the perceptions of EFL teachers on the issue. Teachers developed a set of anti-racist materials focusing on Afro-Brazilians to deliver to all their students. Thus, this might provide me with both opportunities and limits. On the one hand, in terms of opportunities, as a black researcher, it might be that some black teachers might have felt more comfortable and open in their responses towards me (see Chapter Four). On the other hand, it is possible that some white respondents did not feel able to be so open. I am sensitive and aware of that, and I believe that, as I discussed in Chapter Four, there are also issues of validity regarding my data. As a black researcher, it could be claimed that my interpretation of the data might be biased, but it is equally possible that such research would also be biased if it was conducted by a white researcher. I will now discuss the implications of my findings in relation to the latest changes in the curriculum in Brazil.

'Race'/ethnicity and latest changes

As my research was intended to understand the way that EFL teachers understood and addressed the issues of 'race'/ethnicity in teaching, I think it is important to reflect on the implications of my findings in the light of the latest changes in the field.

The latest changes to the curriculum in Brazil occurred on 9th January 2003, when Law 10639 made the teaching of "Afro-Brazilian and African History and Culture" (Brasil, 2003) compulsory. The guidance to teach this issue was approved by the "Report no. 1, 17th June 2004" (Brasil, 2004a, 2004b). According to Brasil (2003, 2004a, 2004b), Afro-Brazilian and African History and Culture, should be taught in all subjects of the school curriculum but

especially in the field of arts, literature and Brazilian history. The contribution to the educational field in Brazil made by the report (Brasil, 2004a, 2004b) was welcome in terms of addressing issues that had been absent from the curriculum and in textbooks (as discussed in Chapters One, Two, Six and Seven).

As schools, universities and teachers are being prepared to include the contents of the report in their curriculum, there are as yet no outcomes in terms of research about the implementation. However, there is already a need to reflect on some points. The report (Brasil, 2004a) provides guidance on what to teach in terms of the content of Afro-Brazilian and African History and Culture, but apart from that, the report is also intended to promote awareness of the racism that exists in Brazil through teaching the content, and through material development.

The inclusion of this content in the curriculum was urgently needed, considering the absence of representation. However, there is a need to be attentive that the aspect of inclusion of the content of *culture* in the curriculum does not promote what some researchers in the field of 'race'/ethnicity call 'new' *racism* (Archer, 2003: 160). Archer states that:

The concept of 'new' racism reflects how dominant racist discourses now focus on themes of 'culture' (rather than biology), naturalizing 'cultural differences' and 'ethnic groups', rather than biological racial categories. The emphasis upon 'cultural differences' (rather than racial hierarchies) within discourses of new racism, constitute as potent a force as 'old' racism, because racial/cultural differences are still subjected to processes of inferiorization, discrimination and exclusion.

(Archer, 2003: 160)

Gillborn and Youdell also comment on the same issue:

A less obvious form of racism, however, has been identified as operating through a discourse of 'culture' (rather than 'race') and 'difference' (rather than 'superiority').

(Gillborn & Youdell, 2000: 4)

A further concern, as regards the report, (Brasil, 2004a, 2004b) relates to the findings of my research. By this I mean that merely providing materials is not enough, there is a need to observe the teachers in the classroom because that is the place where the materials are delivered and 'messages' are sent, as I outlined in my findings in Chapter Eight. I agree with Archer who argues that teachers and researchers need to "(...) be able to engage with the individious, subtle, covert knowledges that are embedded in 'our' everyday thinking and language" (Archer, 2003: 160).

Reflection on future research

I would like to reflect on future research to be addressed in the field in the light of these findings. Additional aspects to be considered are incentives to schools to construct anti-racist policies that involve all staff in the school, the community, and students, to find out what is best for the community as a whole in terms of equal and just treatment in relation to 'race'/ethnicity. One thing that may be useful is the creation of a local support network for teachers who have an interest in developing anti-racist strategies and policies within schools.

As a result of the latest changes in the curriculum (Brasil, 2003, 2004a, 2004b), much emphasis was placed on the material development (to include the under-representation of the students, and historical and cultural aspects of Afro-Brazilians and Africans). However, what also should be researched carefully is how the materials are being used, by teachers in their classrooms, and the kind of issues that are brought up from the discussions in the classrooms. Research should also investigate the impact on students' and teachers' identities when discussing the issue of 'race'/ethnicity in the classroom.

Finally, it should not be forgotten that it is essential to monitor students' educational outcomes by ethnicity, because it is in this area that institutional racism and unjust treatment in relation to ethnicity are located.

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Appendix 1. Teachers' questionnaire

Label of the University

Name of the University

Dear Teacher

09, May 2002.

This is an invitation for you to take part in a study that aims to provide a better understanding of EFL teaching aspects in Paraná. I would be very grateful if you could complete this questionnaire and return it to me by 15 June 2002. Please, note that there is a self-addressed pre-paid envelope that you should use to return the questionnaire.

All data collected will be absolutely confidential. Information identifying yourself or your school will not be disclosed under any circumstances.

The reason for this questionnaire is to find out how teachers of EFL (English as a Foreign Language) have been working with CULTURAL PLURALITY AS CROSS CURRICULAR THEME inside their classrooms. This questionnaire has two parts, the first concerning EFL teaching procedures and the second one about your professional background.

Before you fill in the questionnaire, please read the following instructions carefully. It will not take you more than 20 minutes to answer this questionnaire.

Instructions:

- Answer each question of this questionnaire as frankly as you possibly can.
- If you do not feel comfortable in answering any particular questions, feel free to leave them blank.
- Put a tick (x) in the multiple-alternative questions.
- Use the spaces provided to add any information or comment you find necessary.
- Use the back of the sheet if you need more space for your answers.

Thank you for your participation.

Aparecida de Jesus Ferreira
Researcher's address

E-mail : ferreiracida@hotmail.com or cidaferreira@certto.com.br

LETTER OF INVITATION TO THE WORKSHOP

Dear teachers,

I would like to take the opportunity to invite you to participate in a workshop about material production, working with 'cultural plurality as cross curricular theme' more specifically about 'race/ethnicity'.

The workshop is going to take place on Saturdays. Starting on the 1 of June and finishing on the 29th June, making a total of 20 hours.

COME AND PARTICIPATE . IT IS FREE. DO YOUR ENROLMENT.

Information with Aparecida Ferreira

Telephone: researcher's telephone number

E-mail: ferreiracida@hotmail.com or cidaferreira@certto.com.br

ENROLMENT OPEN UP TO: 25 May/2002.

Place of the workshop: (...)

Time: 8:00 A.M. to 12:00 A.M. (5 Saturdays)

I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours faithfully,

Aparecida Ferreira

Appendix 1

TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

Part I – Information about your teaching practice

1. Do you use textbooks in the classroom?

Yes ☐

No ☐

a) Write one reason why you think textbooks help students to learn EFL.

b) Write one reason why you think textbooks may need supplementary in EFL classroom.

c) Which textbook do you use?

Ens. Funda-mental	Ens. Médio	Author's name	Title	Publisher	Date Published

2. What kind of texts (written or oral) do you give to your students?

Kinds of texts	Always	Very often	Often	Not often	Never
Literature.					
English Language Cultural aspects.					
Journalistic readings.					
General Information.					
Texts provided by textbooks.					
Other.					
Other, which one?					

3. In your judgement. What kind of text (written or oral) do your students prefer to read?

Kinds of texts	Always	Very often	Often	Not often	Never
Literature.					
English Language Cultural aspects.					
Journalistic readings.					
General Information.					
Texts provided by textbooks.					
Other.					
Other, which one?					

4. What are the goal/aims of your teaching?

a) Concerning knowledge and understanding.

b) Concerning skills development.

c) Concerning attitudes – What kind of citizen do you want your student to be?

5. The PCN of Foreign Language, suggested teaching using themes inside classroom. Which of them have you discussed in your English class?
You can tick as many as you are able.

Ethics.	
Health.	
Environment.	
Sexual Orientation.	
Cultural Plurality - English language Culture.	
Cultural Plurality - Religion.	
Cultural Plurality - 'Race'/Ethnicity Racism.	
Cultural Plurality - Gender.	
Labour.	
Other.	

6. If you have ticked 'Race'/ethnicity. What did you discuss?

7. Do you think it is relevant to discuss the topic 'race'/ethnicity in class?

Yes	
-----	--

No	
----	--

Give reasons for your answer.

8. Do you feel prepared to teach the New National Curriculum Parameter, about Cultural Plurality?

Yes ☐

No ☐

Give reasons for your answer.

9. What do you understand by cultural plurality?

10. The PCN (1998) suggests that "the main themes of the NC are **citizenship, critical awareness** in relation to language and the socio-political aspects of learning of FL. They articulate themselves with the transversal themes, mainly, by the possibility of using the learning of languages as a space to understand, in the school, the several ways of living the human experience" (p. 24). What is "**critical**" to you?

11. Do you consider that your undergraduate course of Licenciatura/Letras prepared you to teach in a "critical way"?

Yes ☐

No ☐

In what way? Give example

12. What kind of activities do you use in your English Class?

Skills	Always	Very often	Often	Not often	Never
Reading.					
Writing.					
Listening.					
Speaking.					
Grammar activities.					
Activities provided by textbooks.					
Other.					
Give examples of other activities:					

13. What is the approach or method that you use to teach English?

Why do you use such an approach? Give one reason.

14. What aspect of your teaching would you like to improve?

15. How do you keep abreast with information on activities and developments within the educational system?

Official documents	Publications	Workshops	Newspapers	Seminars	School meetings	Other

Other (please specify):

16. How far is your *teaching practice* influenced by the following factors?

Grade of influence	Strongly influenced	Influenced	Very little influence	Weak influence	No influence
Family background.					
Letras course.					
Your practice experience of teaching.					
Self study.					
Colleagues at work.					
Pupils interest.					
Pupils behaviour.					
Teacher Association.					
Diploma course.					
Participation in Workshops.					
Other:					
Other Specify:					

PART II - PERSONAL/PROFESSIONAL INFORMATION

1. [17] Name:

2. [18] Address for correspondence:

3. [19] E-mail:

4. [20] Phone number:

Mobile: _____

School: _____

Home: _____

5. [21] Sex:

Female	
Male	

6. [22] Age:

20 -25	
26-30	
31-35	
36-40	
41-45	
46 and over	

8. [23] Ethnic group: How do you consider your self?

White - Branco		
Black - preto		
Mulatto - pardo		
Brazilian Native Indian - Indio		
Yellow - amarelo		
Other		Specify: _____

9. [24] Which ethnic groups do you have in your family?

Ethnic groups	Husband/ wife	Grandfather Father side	Grandfather mother side	Grandmother father side	Grandmother mother side	Father	Mother
White - Branco							
Black - preto							
Mulatto - pardo							
Brazilian Native Indian - Indio							
Yellow - amarelo							
another specify							

10. [25] Working place (s):

School	Number working hours week:	of per	Situação profissional			of
			QPM.	Fundinho CLT.	Contract Paraná Education.	

11. [26] Undergraduate course:

Letras (Portuguese).			
Letras (English).			
Letras (Portuguese/English).			
Other (please specify):			
Institution:		Year of Graduation:	

12. [27] Post-graduate courses:

Lato Sensu/ Specialisation Course			
Area:			
Institution:		Year of Conclusion:	
Title of Monograph	of		

Strictu Sensu/ Master's Degree			
Area:			
Institution:		Year of Conclusion:	
Title of Dissertation:			

PhD			
Area:			
Institution:		Year of Conclusion:	
Title of Thesis:			

13. [28] Other certificates or diplomas:

14. [29] Number of years teaching English:

Number of Years	<i>Ensino Fundamental</i> State Public Schools	<i>Ensino Médio</i> State Public Schools	<i>Ensino Fundamental</i> Private Schools	<i>Ensino Médio</i> Private Schools	Language Schools	University
Less than 5						
5 to 10						
11 to 15						
16 to 20						
More than 20						

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR CONTRIBUTION.

Aparecida Ferreira

LETTER OF AUTHORIZATION

I _____
authorise Aparecida de Jesus Ferreira to use the information of this
questionnaire according to her necessity, not disclosing under any
circumstances information identifying myself or the school name.

(Name of the city), _____ de _____ de 2002.

Signature

Appendix 2 Teachers' interview [20-30minutes]

Introduction:

I am studying for a doctoral degree in Education and I am doing a research on 'IN SERVICE TEACHER EDUCATORS AND THE DEVELOPING OF CRITICAL TEACHING: CULTURAL PLURALITY – 'RACE'/ETHNICITY IN ELT EDUCATION IN BRAZIL. The reason for this interview is to find out how English As a Foreign Language Teachers have been working with the theme 'CULTURAL PLURALITY' AND 'RACE'/ETHNICITY inside classroom.

I would like your contribution to this research. Your answers to my question are going to help me to understand how teachers are working with this specific theme. This interview is totally confidential and will not be disclosed under any circumstances.

1. What aspects of the NCP (National Curriculum Parameter) do you like best?
2. What is your impression of the theme 'Cultural Plurality'?
3. Have you ever worked inside a classroom with this theme?
4. What aspect did you focus on?
5. Have you ever worked with the issue 'race'/ethnicity in the classroom?
6. Do you think that the textbook 'represents' all the students? Why?
7. Do you feel prepared to work this issue in the classroom? Why?
8. Read the passage below and comment upon them:
 - a) The PCN (1998) in the aspect of Cultural Plurality says: "People can make use of the FL to their own benefit, learning this language in a critical way" (p.49)
 - b) Kincheloe and Steinberg (1998: 2) claim that, "The concepts of oppression and power inequalities are missing, as racism, gender bias, and class bias becomes forbidden topics".
9. Do you think that working with this theme inside classroom can diminish the inequality problems relate to 'race' in Brazil?
10. Did you discuss about working with 'race'/ethnicity in you graduation course or in the courses offered by NRE (Local Education Authority)? Why?
11. What might be the difficulties?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR CONTRIBUTION.

LETTER OF AUTHORIZATION

I _____
authorise Aparecida de Jesus Ferreira to use the information of this
interview according to her necessity, not disclosing under any
circumstances information identifying myself or the school name.

(Name of the city), _____ de _____ de 2002.

Signature

Appendix 3**CLASSROOM OBSERVATION CATEGORIES**

Classroom: _____ min. Grade _____ Period: _____
 School: _____ Teacher: _____

Physical space setting:

The resources being used in the scene.

How the class starts: teacher states the aims/objectives of the classes.

Behaviour of the participants to each other.

Describe the ways the resources are used.

How the issues in the texts are discussed.

Learning outcomes in relation to the resources/teaching strategies.

How the time is used in the event.

Feeling of the students related to the theme.

Non-verbal communication students.

Non-verbal communication teacher.

Ethical issues, dilemma, tensions and problems.

Sociological (elements of power).

How does teacher's contribution relates to their own understanding of 'race/ethnicity'.

Appendix 4 SCHEDULE OF DATA GATHERING

Date	What	How/where	Results
10/04 to 30/04/02	Contact with schools and Local Education Authority (NRE).	In person.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Invite participants to participate in the research.
15/04 to 30/04	Pilot questionnaire to teachers (04).	In person.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gather information about the questions to refine the questionnaire.
01/05 to 15/05	Send the questionnaires to teachers with the invitation letter to participate in the workshop (103). Return questionnaire (46).	Post mail reminder target It was achieved 44,66%.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Response to questionnaires. • Teachers called the researcher to enroll. • Make a list of the participants.
01/05 to 15/05	Pilot interview (teacher) (04).	In person.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gather information about the questions and refine the interview schedule.
05/06 to 02/07	Initial teachers interview – 8.	In person.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assemble more qualitative information.
01/06 to 17/08	Material production 01/06 Saturdays- 8:00 to 12:00. 15/06: Saturday 8:00 to 12:00. 22/06 Saturday 14:00 to 17:00. 29/06 Saturday 14:00 to 17:00. 03/08 Saturday 14:00 to 17:00. 17/08 Saturday 14:00 to 17:00. Workshop – 20:00 hours.	Study group.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Produce material for work inside classroom.
25/06 to 07/08	Classroom observation.	Teachers' classrooms.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Observe the classes students and teachers work.

03/08	Final reflections sheets.	Teachers completed it at the course.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To find out and record changes, and/or significant effects.
02/09 13/09	Evaluation interview (6) teachers who participated in all the activities of the research.	Teachers in person.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gather information to contribute to evaluation of the workshop, material developed and teacher participation.

Appendix 5**Letter to NRE (Local Education Authority)**

Address of the researcher

.....

10 Abril, 2002.

Address of NRE (Local Education Authority)

.....

Dear Sir or Madam,

I am an English Teacher Educator at Unioeste University. I am taking a PhD Course at the Institute of Education-University of London, in the field of Teacher Education. I am now gathering the data for the research and I need to collect information from teachers and pupils at the public sector schools. My intention is to gather information with elementary schools teachers and students, and all information will be confidential and impossible to trace to individual teacher, pupils and school.

I would like to receive an authorisation to gather the necessary information, so that I can carry on my research. My data gathering instruments consist of questionnaires and interviews. Also I am going to offer a workshop for teachers on Saturday mornings, consisting of 20 hours, starting on June 6th, according to the programme attached.

I consider this research to be of extreme importance to the field of teacher education, and I expect to somewhat contribute to the public education in (Name of the city).

I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours faithfully,

Aparecida de Jesus Ferreira

APPENDIX 6 – REFLECTION SHEETS

MATERIAL PRODUCTION TEACHER REFLECTION ON PUPILS OUTCOMES

1st MEETING - First 15 minutes

Name:
Date:

Questions:

1. What is the pupil learning outcomes?

2. What is the pupil involvement?

3. What are the organisational difficulties (e.g. handling controversial views)?

4. Please state any other comment

REFLECTION ON WRITING FRAME MATERIAL PRODUCTION

1ST MEETING - Last 15 min.

Name:

Date:

1. The PCN - FL offers good opportunities for doing a "good" job in the classroom towards students necessities because...

However,

About you:

Place of work:

School	Number of working hours		Professional situation		
	English	Port.	QPM ¹	Fundinho CLT ²	Contrato Paraná Educação ³

Professional Experience

Number of years	Ensino Fundamental Elementary school		Ensino Médio High school	
	English	Portuguese	English	Portuguese
Less than 5				
5 to 10				
11 to 15				
16 to 20				
More than 20				

¹ QPM – teachers who have done a contest (permanent teachers)

² CLT – teachers who work for a certain number of years in the Public school, but do not have contest.

³ Contract teachers – they are contracted every year.

REFLECTION ON WRITING FRAME MATERIAL PRODUCTION

2ND MEETING - Last 15 min.

Name:

Date:

1. The Letras course gave me knowledge concerning ... in the sense of ...

However, the Letras course left some gaps in the sense of...

According to Marcondes (1999)

Most of the time theoretical issues related to teaching are discussed from the point of view of an idealised school, with idealised students corresponding to white, middle-class students, who the teachers expect to be well behaved during classroom activities. (p. 206).

According to PCN (1998)

In a plural country like Brazil, it is pernicious to work in the classroom with a view that excludes the majority of the Brazilian population (pedagogic discourse that children usually have): white, catholic, living in the south, middle class, speaking of hegemonic variety etc. (p.48)

Make comments giving examples of your practical context:

12. What kind of activities did you have in your English Class in your undergraduate course?

Skills	Always	Very often	Often	Not often	Never
Reading					
Writing					
Listening					
Speaking					
Grammar activities					
Activities provided by textbooks					
Other (e.g.)					

REFLECTION ON WRITING FRAME MATERIAL PRODUCTION**3rd MEETING - Last 15 min.**

Name:
Date:

1. Producing our own material is an opportunity to...

However,...

MATERIAL PRODUCTION TEACHER REFLECTION ON PUPILS OUTCOMES**4TH MEETING - First 15 minutes****Name:****Date:****Questions:****1. What are the pupil learning outcomes?**

2. What is the pupil involvement?

3. What are the organisational difficulties (e.g. handling controversial views)?

4. Please any other comment

REFLECTION ON WRITING FRAME MATERIAL PRODUCTION

4 th MEETING - Last 15 min.
--

Name:

Date:

1. Kampol (1998) defines that ‘ “**critical pedagogy**” is really about what I call critical consciousness. It is about focusing our critical capacities, our questioning capacity, on the everyday world in which we find ourselves with a purpose’ (p. 167). Make a comment and give an example of an activity you have done in class, of the kind identified by Kampol.

However, “**critical pedagogy**” is different to bring to the classroom settings...

2. In your opinion, what does “**critical pedagogy**” have to do with English language teaching?

**REFLECTION ABOUT THE USE OF THE MATERIAL DEVELOPED
WITH STUDENTS**

TO COMPLETE AT HOME

Name:

Date:

1. Describe what have you observed during the time that you were applying the material developed with the students.

2. What were the facilities in working with the material developed?

3. What were the difficulties in working with the material developed?

4. What called you attention in working with the theme 'race/ethnicity' in the classroom?

5. In what ways the work with the theme in the classroom contributed to building/developing attitudes in the students, and what attitudes?

MATERIAL PRODUCTION TEACHER REFLECTION ON PUPILS OUTCOMES**5TH MEETING - First 15 minutes****Name:****Date:****1. What are the pupil learning outcomes?**

2. What is the pupil involvement?

3. What are the organisational difficulties (e.g. handling controversial views)?

4. Please, any other comments

REFLECTION ON WRITING FRAME MATERIAL PRODUCTION**5th MEETING - Last 15 min.****Name:****Date:****1. The kind of teacher I want to be...**

However, there are some aspects that I feel I need to improve...

2. Working with the theme "race/ethnicity" in EFL showed me that ...

However,

Appendix 7 REFLECTION SHEETS SCHEDULE AND PURPOSE

Meetings	Purpose of the reflection sheets
1 st meeting- first 15 min reflection sheet (see appendix 6).	Teachers' perceptions of students outcomes.
1 st meeting- last 15 min reflection sheet (see appendix 6).	Teachers' perceptions of PCN (National Curriculum).
2 nd meeting- last 15 min. reflection sheet (see appendix 6).	Teachers' reflection about their undergraduate course.
3 rd meeting- last 15 min. reflection sheet (see appendix 6).	Teachers' reflection about material production.
4 th meeting- first 15 min. reflection sheet (see appendix 6).	Teachers' reflection about students outcomes.
4 th meeting- last 15 min. reflection sheet (see appendix 6).	Teachers' reflection about "critical pedagogy".
4 th Complete at home reflection (see appendix 6).	Teachers' reflection about the application of the material developed.
5 th meeting – first 15 min. reflection sheet (see appendix 6).	Teachers' reflection about students outcomes.
5 th meeting – last 15 min. reflection sheet (see appendix 6).	Teachers' reflection about their own work.
5 th meeting Evaluation of the workshop answered by teachers. (see appendix 8)	Teachers' evaluation of the material developed.
My log book.	The purpose here was to write my impressions of the workshop and reflections on the teachers' reaction during the workshop.

Appendix 8 Schedule of the workshop: material development

DATE: 01/06	
8:00 – 12:00	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Warm up activity in order to get to know each other. ➤ Explanation about the workshop and the purpose. <p>Discussion about:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ PCN (National Curriculum Parameter) . ➤ Cultural Plurality as a cross-curricular theme – 'race'/ethnicity <p>Actions to next meeting:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Ask teachers to bring material to do the production. ➤ Ask teachers to bring the textbooks they use to guide their classes to be analysed. ➤ Ask teachers to read about CP document (Brasil, 1998b).

DATE: 15/06 second meeting	
8:00 - 12:00	<p>Discussion about:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Task based learning. ➤ Critical teaching/thinking. ➤ Problem solving. ➤ Material development (The aim of the material). ➤ Analysis of textbooks used by teachers. ➤ Students' profiles. ➤ Materials production (Unit 1 – see appendix 9).

DATE: 22/06 third meeting	
14:00 – 17:00	<p>Hand in the material developed to teachers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Discuss about how to work with the material. ➤ Analysis of the material developed. ➤ Discussion about problem posing. ➤ Material production (Unit 2 – see appendix 9). ➤ Time for exchange information, materials and experiences. ➤ Classroom observation started from 25/06/2002 to the end of the workshop (see appendices 3 and 12).

DATE: 29/06 fourth meeting	
14:00 – 17:00	<p>Feedback about how the material worked with students.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Learning outcomes related to the resources/teaching/strategies. ➤ English use of the material. ➤ Suggestions of improve the material. ➤ Reflection about the theme 'race/ethnicity'. ➤ Hand in the material developed. ➤ Discuss about how to work with the material. ➤ Material Production (Units 3 and 4 see appendix 9).

DATE: 03/08 fifth meeting	
14:00 - 17:00	<p>Feedback about how the material worked with the students.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Hand in the material developed. ➤ Discuss about how to work with the material. ➤ Evaluation of the workshop (discussion). ➤ Talk about the organisation of the poster (to be held at the next meeting).

DATE: 17/08 sixth meeting		
schedule	Activity	Teachers
14:00 – 14:20	Explanation of the research and the work made in the workshop.	Researcher.
14:20 – 15:30	Explanation of the material developed Teachers contribution from their participation experience.	Teachers: All the teachers who participated in the workshop.
16:00 – 16:30	Speech: "Race/Ethnicity" in education in Brazil.	Teacher (Teachers' Union representative).
16:30 – 17:00	Debate.	Participation of everybody.

APPENDIX 10**EVALUATION INTERVIEW [20 min]**

Purpose of this interview is to contribute to an evaluation of the workshop material developed for working with the students and your participation in the workshop.

Your answers to my questions are going to help me understand how teachers are working with this specific theme. This interview is totally confidential and will not be disclosed under any circumstances.

1. How did your view from working with the theme 'race/ethnicity' change?
2. How do you feel about working with this theme?
3. Did you have any difficulty of handling the theme in classroom?
4. What have you learned about the students' perception of working with this theme?
5. Did you notice any differences in students participation with the theme when you were working with the classroom material, in comparison to the others classes?
6. What have you learned form the workshop and working with the materials that may be applied to other themes or topics in EFL?
7. Have you notice the improvement of language acquisition using the material developed? How?

Thank you very much for your contribution

Aparecida de Jesus Ferreira

APPENDIX 11 – TABLE OF ALL DATA GATHERED

Teachers/ data	Teachers' questionnaire	Teacher initial interview	Classroom observation	Evaluation reflection	Evaluation Interview
Teacher Ame	01/06/2002	05/06/2002- Wednesday	25/06/2002	03/08/2002	04/09/2002
Teacher	15/06/2002	06/06/2002 – Thursday	Stopped teaching	-----	-----
Teacher		06/06/2002 Thursday	Stopped family problem	-----	-----
Teacher Barbara	05/06/2002	11/06/2002 Tuesday	25/06/2002	03/08/2002	03/09/2002
Teacher Carmen	10/06/2002	15/06/2002 Saturday	31/07/2002	03/08/2002	02/09/2002
Teacher Daniel	15/06/2002	18/06/2002 Tuesday	26/06/2002	03/08/2002	03/09/2002
Teacher Elisa	18/05/2002	25/06/2002 Tuesday	07/08/2002	03/08/2002	03/09/2002
Teacher Fabia	03/06/2002	12/06/2002 Wednesday	04/07/2002	03/08/2002	13/09/2002

AMOUNT OF DATA GATHERED

Teachers data	Teachers' questionnaire	Teacher' initial interview	Workshop material production	Observation classroom	Evaluation Interview
8 teachers started	46 = 44,66% Plus 04 pilot questionnaire and interview.	8	6 informants.	6 observations.	6 interviews.

WORKSHOP DATA GATHERING

Workshop material production	1 st meeting 01/06/2002	2 nd meeting 15/06/2002	3 rd meeting 22/06/2002
Reflection sheets	First 15 minutes Last 15 minutes	Last 15 minutes	Last 15 minutes Complete at home

4 th meeting 29/06/2002	5 th meeting 03/08/2002	6 th meeting 17/08/2002
Fist 15 minutes Last 15 minutes	First 15 minutes Last 15 minutes	Evaluation seminar

Appendix 12 - Translation of the colours used by Brazilians found by the IBGE census. Source: Levine & Crocitti (1999: 386-390). In the list below Levine & Crocitti presents 134 colours found by IBGE, however, in Chapter One I followed Schwarcz (1998: 227) and Lemos (1999: 7) who presented 136 colours used by Brazilians found by the IBGE census in their research. The translations are supplied to provide an example to the reader.

Portuguese/English
1. Acastanhada (cashewlike tint, caramel colored)
2. Agalegada (an often derogatory term for a Galician; features considered gross and misshapen)
3. Alva (pure white)
4. Alva-escuro (dark or off-white)
5. Alverenta (or aliviero, "shadow in the water")
6. Alvarinta (tinted or bleached white)
7. Alva-rosada (or jambote, roseate, white with pink highlights)
8. Alvinha (bleached, whitewashed)
9. Amarela (yellow)
10. Amarelada (yellowish)
11. Amarela-queimada (burnt yellow or ochre)
12. Amarelosa (yellowed)
13. Amorenada (tannish)
14. Avermelhada (reddish, with blood vessels showing through skin)
15. Azul (bluish)
16. Azul-marinho (deep bluish)
17. Baiano (Bahian or ebony)
18. Bem branca (very white)
19. Bem-clara (parchmentlike; translucent)
20. Bem-morena (very dusky)
21. Branca (white)
22. Branca-avermelhada (peach white)
23. Branca-melada (honey toned)
24. Branca-morena (darkish white)
25. Branca-pálida (pallid)
26. Branca-queimada (sunburned white)
27. Branca-sardenta (white with brown spots)
28. Branca-suja (dirty white)
29. Branquiça (a white variation)
30. Branquinha (whitish)
31. Bronze (bronze)
32. Bronzeada (bronzed tan)
33. Brugrezinha-escuro (Indian characteristics)
34. Burro-quando-foge ("burro running away", implying racial mixture or unknown origin; the opposite of cor-firme)
35. Cabocla (mixture of white, Negro, and Indian)
36. Cabo-verde (black; Cape Verdean)
37. Café (coffee)
38. Café-com-leite (coffee with milk)
39. Canela (cinnamon)
40. Canelada (tawny)

41. Cardão (thistle colored)
42. Castanha (cashew)
43. Castanha-clara (clear, cashewlike)
44. Castanha-escura (dark, cashewlike)
45. Chocolate (chocolate brown)
46. Clara (light)
47. Clarinha (very light)
48. Cobre (copper hued)
49. Corada (ruddy)
50. Cor-de-café (tint of coffee)
51. Cor-de-canela (tint of cinnamon)
52. Cor-de-cuia (tea colored; prostitute)
53. Cor-de-leite (milky)
54. Cor-de-ouro (golden)
55. Cor-de-rosa (pink)
56. Cor-firme ("no doubt about it")
57. Crioula (little servant or slave; African)
58. Encerada (waxy)
59. Enxofrada (pallid yellow; jaundiced)
60. Esbranquecimento (mostly white)
61. Escura (dark)
62. Escurinha (semidark)
63. Fogoio (florid; flushed)
64. Galega (see agalegada above)
65. Galegada (Ibid.)
66. Jambo (like a fruit the deep-red color of a blood orange)
67. Laranja (orange)
68. Lilás (lily)
69. Loira (blond hair or white shin)
70. Loira-clara (pale blond)
71. Loura (blond)
72. Lourinha (flaxen)
73. Malaia (from Malabar)
74. Marinheira (dark greyish)
75. Marron (brown)
76. Meio-amarela (mid-yellow)
77. Meio-branca (mid-white)
78. Meio-morena (mid-tan)
79. Meio-preta (mid-Negro)
80. Melada (honey colored)
81. Mestiça (mixture of white and Indian)
82. Miscigenação (mixed –literally "miscegenated")
83. Mista (mixed)
84. Morena (tan)
85. Morena-ben-chegada (very tan)
86. Morena-bronzeada (bronzed tan)
87. Morena-canelada (cinnamonlike brunette)
88. Morena-castanha (cashewlike tan)

89. Morena clara (light tan)
90. Morena-cor-de-canela (cinnamon-hued brunette)
91. Morena-jambo (dark red)
92. Morenada (mocha)
93. Morena-escura (dark tan)
94. Morena-fechada (very dark, almost mulatta)
95. Morenã (very dusky tan)
96. Morena- parda (brown-hued tan)
97. Morena-roxa (purplish tan)
98. Morena-ruiva (reddish tan)
99. Morena-trigueira (wheat colored)
100. Moreninha (toffeelike)
101. Mulatta (mixture of white and Negro)
102. Mulatinha (lighter-skinned white-Negro)
103. Negra (Negro)
104. Negrota (Negro with corpulent body)
105. Pálida (pale)
106. Paraíba (like the color of marupa wood)
107. Parda (dark brown)
108. Parda-clara (lighter-skinned person of mixed race)
109. Polaca (Polish features; prostitute)
110. Pouco-clara (not very clear)
111. Pouco-morena (dusky)
112. Preta (black)
113. Pretinha (black of a lighter hue)
114. Puxa-para-branca (more like a white tan a mulatta)
115. Quase-negra (almost Negro)
116. Queimada (burnt)
117. Queimada-de-praia (suntanned)
118. Queimada-de-sol (sunburned)
119. Regular (regular; nondescript)
120. Retinta ("layered" dark skin)
121. Rosa (roseate)
122. Rosada (high pink)
123. Rosa-queimada (burnished rose)
124. Roxa (purplish)
125. Ruiva (strawberry blond)
126. Russo (Russian, see also polaca)
127. Sapecada (burnished red)
128. Sarará (mulatta with reddish kinky hair, aquiline nose)
129. Saraúba (or saraiba: like a white meringue)
130. Tostada (toasted)
131. Trigueira (wheat colored)
132. Turva (opaque)
133. Verde (greenish)
134. Vermelha (reddish)